# PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

# FIRST INDIAN
# NATIONAL CONGRESS.

HELD AT

BOMBAY,

ON

The 28th, 29th and 30th December,

1885.




[SECOND EDITION]

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## Third Day, 30th December 1885.



## APPENDICES:

THE FIRST

# INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS,

## HELD AT BOMBAY

### On the 28th, 29th and 30th December, 1885

*SUMMARY OF RESOLUTIONS passed at the Indian National Congress composed of Representatives from Calcutta Madras Bombay Poona Allahabad Lahore Lucknow Agra Benares Ahmedabad Kurrachee Surat Veeramgam Ganjam Masulipatam Chingleput Tanjore Combaconum Madura Tinnevelly Coimbatore Cuddapah Anantapur Bellary and Calicut held in Bombay on the 28th 29th and 30th December 1885*

**RESOLUTIONS**

I —Proposed by Mr G Subramania Iyer (Madras) seconded by Mr P M Mehta (Bombay) and supported by Mr Norendronath Sen (Calcutta) That this Congress earnestly recommends that the promised inquiry into the working of Indian Administration here and in England should be entrusted to a Royal Commission the people of India being adequately represented thereon and evidence taken both in India and in England

II —Proposed by Mr S H Chiplonkar (Poona) seconded by Mr P Ananda Charlu (Madras) and supported by Mr J Ghosal (Allahabad) That this Congress considers the abolition of the Council of the Secretary of State for India as at present constituted the necessary preliminary to all other reforms

III —Proposed by the Hon K T Telang C I E (Bombay) seconded by the Hon S Subramania Iyer (Madras) supported by the Hon Dadabhai Naoroji (Bombay) That this Congress considers the reform and expansion of the Supreme and existing Local Legislative Councils by the admission of a considerable proportion of elected members (and the creation of similar Councils for the N W Provinces and Oudh and also for the Punjab) essential and holds that all Budgets should be referred to these Councils for consideration their members being moreover empowered to interpellate the Executive in regard to all branches of the administration and that a Standing Committee of the House of Commons should be constituted to receive and consider any formal protests that may be recorded by majorities of such Councils against the exercise by the Executive of the power which would be vested in it of overruling the decision of majorities "

IV.—Proposed by the Hon. Dadabhai Naoroji (Bombay), seconded by "Mr. Vira Raghavacharyar (Madras), and supported by Mr. D. S. White "(Madras): "That in the opinion of this Congress the competitive examinations "now held in England, for first appointments in various civil departments of the "public service, should, henceforth, in accordance with the views of the India "Office Committee of 1860, 'be held simultaneously, one in England and one in "India, both being as far as practicable identical in their nature, and those who "compete in both countries being finally classified in one list according to "merit,' and that the successful candidates in India should be sent to England "for further study, and subjected there to such further examinations as may "seem needful. Further, that all other first appointments (excluding peonships, "and the like) should be filled by competitive examinations held in India, "under conditions calculated to secure such intellectual, moral and physical "qualifications as may be decided by Government to be necessary. Lastly, "that the maximum age of candidates for entrance into the Covenanted Civil "Service be raised to not less than 23 years."

V.—Proposed by Mr. Rangaya Nayadu (Madras), seconded by Mr. Din "shaw Edaljee Wacha (Bombay), and supported by Mr. Dayaram Jethmul "(Karachi): "That in the opinion of this Congress the proposed increase in the "military expenditure of the empire is unnecessary, and regard being had to the "revenues of the empire and the existing circumstances of the country, exces "sive."

VI.—Proposed by Mr. J. U. Yajnik (Bombay), seconded by Mr. S. A. Swa "minath Iyer (Tanjore), supported by Rao Saheb S. Venkata Subbarayudu "Pantulu (Masulipatam): "That in the opinion of this Congress, if the increas "ed demands for military expenditure are not to be, as they ought to be, met by "retrenchment, they ought to be met, firstly, by the re-imposition of the Cus "toms duties; and secondly by the extension of the license tax to those classes "of the community, official and non-official, at present exempted from it, care "being taken that in the case of all classes a sufficiently high taxable minimum "be maintained. And further, that this Congress is of opinion that Great Bri "tain should extend an imperial guarantee to the Indian debt."

VII.—Proposed by Mr. P. M. Mehta (Bombay), seconded by Rao "Bahadur Krishnaji Laxman Nulkar (Poona): "That this Congress deprecates "the annexation of Upper Burmah and considers that if the Government unfor "tunately decide on annexation the entire country of Burmah should be sepa "rated from the Indian Viceroyalty and constituted a Crown Colony, as distinct "in all matters from the government of this country as is Ceylon."

VIII.—Proposed by Mr. Murlidhar (Umballa), seconded by Mr. H. H. Dhru "va (Surat): "That the resolutions passed by this Congress be communi "cated to the political Associations in each province, and that these Associations be "requested with the help of similar bodies and other agencies within their res "pective provinces to adopt such measures as they may consider calculated to "advance the settlement of the various questions dealt with in these resolutions."

IX.—Proposed by Mr. A. O. Hume (Bengal), seconded by the Hon. "S. Subramania Iyer (Madras): "That the Indian National Congress re-assemble "next year in Calcutta, and sit on Tuesday, the 28th of December 1886, and the "next succeeding days."

## Origin and Composition of the Congress.

In March 1885 it was decided to hold a meeting of Representatives from all parts of India at the then coming Christmas. Poona was considered the most central and therefore suitable place and the following circular was issued.

"A Conference of the Indian National Union will be held at Poona from the 25th to the 31st December 1885.

"The Conference will be composed of Delegates—(1) leading politicians well acquainted with the English language—from all parts of the Bengal, Bombay and Madras Presidencies.

"The direct objects of the Conference will be—(1) to enable all the most earnest labourers in the cause of national progress to become personally known to each other, (2) to discuss and decide upon the political operations to be undertaken during the ensuing year.

"Indirectly this Conference will form the germ of a Native Parliament and, if properly conducted, will constitute in a few years an unanswerable reply to the assertion that India is still wholly unfit for any form of representative institutions. The first Conference will decide whether the next shall be again held at Poona or whether following the precedent of the British Association, the Conferences shall be held year by year at different important centres.

"This year the Conference being in Poona, Mr. Chiplonkar and others of the Sarvajanik Sabha, have consented to form a Reception Committee in whose hands will rest the whole of the local arrangements. The Peshwah's Garden near the Parbati Hill will be utilized both as a place of meeting (it contains a fine Hall like the garden the property of the Sabha) and as a residence for the delegates, each of whom will be there provided with suitable quarters. Much importance is attached to this since, when all thus reside *together* for a week far greater opportunities for friendly intercourse will be afforded than if the delegates were (as at the time of the late Bombay demonstrations) scattered about in dozens of private lodging houses all over the town.

"Delegates are expected to find their own way to and from Poona—but form the time they reach the Poona Railway Station until they again leave it, everything that they can need carriage, accomodation, food &c will be provided for them gratuitously.

"The cost thus involved will be defrayed from the Reception Fund, which the Poona Association most liberally offers to provide in the first instance, but to which all delegates, whose means warrant their incurring this further expense, will be at liberty to contribute any sum they please. Any unutilized balance of such donations will be carried forward as a nucleus for next year's Reception Fund.

"It is believed that exclusive of our Poona friends, the Bombay Presidency including Sindh and the Berars, will furnish about 20 delegates, Madras and Lower Bengal each about the same number and the N. W. Provinces, Oudh, and the Punjab together about half this number."

A few days however, before the time fixed for the assemblage and the Sarvajanik Sabha had completed all their preparations at Poona, several cases of cholera occurred there. These cases might or might not be the commencement of a severe outbreak, travellers arriving tired at a station where there is cholera are notoriously proved to take the disease, and it was therefore consider

ed prudent, despite the difficulties attendant on any change at so late a period, to hold the Conference, (which it had in the meantime been decided to call the Congress) at Bombay

Thanks to the exertions of the Bombay Presidency Association and the liberality of the Managers of the Goculdas Tejpal Sanskrit College and Boarding Trust (who not only placed the grand buildings above the Gowalia Tank at the Association's disposal, but also supervised the furbishing up, furnishing and lighting of these large premises on behalf of the Association), everything was ready by the morning of the 27th when the REPRESENTATIVES (as it was determined to designate them to distinguish them from the *Delegates* the title by which the Indian Representatives *sent to England* had become popularly known) began to arrive

During the whole day and far into the night of the 27th, informal discussions were carried on between the Representatives and the order of the proceedings for the next three days was thus settled

It should, however, be noted that about two hours in the evening were devoted to receiving the Hon'ble Sir W Wedderburn Bart the Hon'ble Mr Justice Jardine Colonel Phelps, Professor Wordsworth and a large number of the leading citizens of Bombay who most kindly came to the Goculdas Tejpal College, to welcome the Representatives and express their sympathy with the work on which these were about to enter.

The first meeting took place the next day on the 28th December Very close on one hundred gentlemen attended, but a considerable number of these being Government servants like Mr D S White President of the Eurasian Association Dewan Bahadur Rubgande Rugonath Row Collector of Madras, the Hon'ble Mahadeo G Ranade, Member of the Legislative Council and Small Cause Court Judge of Poona Lalla Baijnath of Agra Professor Abaji Vishnoo Kattawatha of Ahmedabad, Professor Kadambi Sundararaman M A of Arcot, Mr T Narasemma Iyer of Tiruvellur, Professor R G Bhandarkar of the Deccan College and many others, did not (with one exception) take any direct part in the discussions, but attended only as *amici curiae*, to listen and advise, so that the actual number of *Representatives* was, only so far as the records go (though it is feared some few names have been omitted from the Register) 72, *viz* —

From Karrachi 2, Viramgaum 1 Surat, 6, Poona 8, Calcutta, 3, Agra, 2, Benares 1, Simla, 1 Lucknow, 3, Allahabad 1, Lahore, 1 Amballa, 1, Ahmedabad, 3, Bombay, 18 Madras, 8 Berhampore 1, Masulipatam, 1, Chingleput, 2, Tanjore, 1, Kumbakonam 1 Madura 1, Tinnevelly, 1, Coimbatore, 1, Salem, 1, Cuddapah, Anantapore 1 Bellary, 1

The following is a nominal list of these Representatives so far as they entered their names in the Register

Karachi.—Messrs Dayaram Jethmal and Ooderam Moolchund Pleaders

Viramgaum —Mr Harilal Mayaram Vakil and Municipal Commissioner and representative of the Loka Somgraha Sabha

Surat —Messrs H H Dhruva B A, L L B, Pleader and Municipal Commissioner, member, managing committee Praja Hitwardhak Sabha, Mancharshaw Pallanji Kaikobad, Honorary Secretary, Praja Hitwardhak Sabha, Gokuldas Bhaidass Vakil Municipal Commissioner, Pleader, Manchhashankar Jiwanram, B A, L L B, , Hosangji, Burjorji, B A, L L B, Pleader, Narandass Parshotamdass, merchant and Vice President, Praja Hitwardhak Sabha.

Poona.—Rao Bahadoor Krishnaji Laxuman Nulkar, Chairman Poona Sarvajanik Sabha, Messrs Gangaram Bhau Mhaske, Pleader District Court, Ramchandra Moreshwar Sane, Marathi editor, *Dnyan Prakash*, Sitaram Hari Chiplonkar, Honorary Secretary, Poona Sarvajanik Sabha and editor of the *Quarterly Journal* of the P. S. Sabha, Shivaram Hari Sathe, Secretary Poona Sarvajanik Sabha, Dr Pandurang Gopal, G. G. M. C., Mr Waman Shivaram Apte, M. A., Principal Fergusson College and Superintendent, New English School, Ramchandra Keshav Limaye, Pleader District Court, Gopal Ganesh Agarkar, M. A., Professor, Fergusson College and editor of the *Maratha* and *Kesari*.

Calcutta.—Messrs W. C. Bonnerji, Barrister-at-law, Standing Counsel, G. B. Mookerji, editor of the *Nababibhakar*, Pleader High Court, Norendranath Sen, Proprietor and editor *Indian Mirror*.

Agra.—Messrs Babu Jamandas, Pleader, Municipal Commissioner, and editor of the *Nasim*, Babu Prabhu Daya Chowdhry, Pleader.

Benares.—Mr Ram Kali Chowdry, pensioned Sub-Judge.

Simla.—Mr A. O. Hume.

Lucknow.—Messrs Munshi Gangaprasad Varma, Proprietor of the *Hindusthani*, Pranauth Pandit, teacher, Lord Canning College, Munshi Jawala Prasad, Pleader.

Umballa.—Babu Murlidhar, Pleader, representing *the Tribune*.

Lahore.—Satyanand Agnihotri, Brahmo missionary.

Allahabad.—Mr J. Ghosal, Editor of the *Indian Union*.

Ahmedabad.—Messrs Keshavlal Motilal, Vakil, Municipal Commissoner, and Manocljee P. Mody, Vakil, Secretary of the Gujerat Sabha.

Bombay.—The Hon. Dadabhai Naoroji, Member of the Legislative Council, the Hon. Kashinath T. Telang, C. I. E., Member of the Legislative Council, Messrs Pherozeshaw Merwanji Mehta, Barrister-at-law, Chairman of the Municipal Corporation, Dinshaw Edalji Wacha, Secretary, Bombay Presidency Association, Dinshaw Pestonji Kanga, Solicitor, Ghanasham Nilkanth Nadkarni, Vakil, High Court, Moolji Bhowanidas Barbhaya, Solicitor, Tribhuwandas Mungaldas Nathubhoy, Jehangir B. Wacha, merchant, Rahimtula M. Sayani, Solicitor, Bal Mungesh Wagle, Barrister-at-law, A. K. Sethna, Barrister-at-law, Behramji M. Malabari, proprietor and editor *Indian Spectator*, Ganesh Ramachandra Kirloskar, Vakil, High Court, Shamrao Vithal, Vakil, High Court, Abdalla Mehrali Dharamsi, Solicitor, Javerilal Umiashankar Yajnik, Merchant, N. G. Chandavarkar, editor of the *Indu Prakash*, and Bombay Delegate to England.

Madras.—Messrs P. Rungiah Naidu, President of the Madras Mahajana Sabha, Municipal Commissioner and Vakil High Court, Madras, the Hon'ble S. Subramania Aiyar, B. L., Member of the Legislative Council and Vakil, High Court, Madras, P. Ananda Charlu, B. L., Vakil High Court and Municipal Commissioner, Madras, G. Subramania Aiyar, B. A., Editor of the *Hindu*, Madras, M. Viraraghava Chariar, B. A., Sub-Editor of the *Hindu*, Madras and Secretary Madras Mahajana Sabha, C. Singaravelloo Mudaliar, Municipal Commissioner, Madras, Merchant and Trustee of the Patchappa charity, M. E. Shriranga Chariar, B. A., B. L., High Court, Madras, Dr S. V. Athalye, Medical Practitioner, Madras.

Berhampore —Mr M Vishwanath Aiyar B A Pleader District Court Ganjam and Municipal Commissioner Berhampore

Masulipatam —Mr S Venkata Subba Royadu B L, Vakil of the High Court and Pleader District Court Masulipatam

Chingleput —Mr M V Ramanuja Charriar Pleader, Chingleput

Tanjore —Messrs S A Swaminath Aiyar, Public Prosecutor and President People's Association Tanjore N Narayanswami Aiyar, Landholder Tanjore

Kumbakonam —Mr K Pattabirama Aiyar Landholder Kumbakonam

Madura —Mr P Subramania Aiyar Madura

Tinnevelly —Mr Peter Paul Pillay Landholder and schoolmaster Tinnevelly

Coimbatore —Mr S P Narasimhulu Naidu Editor *Crescent* and member of the Local Board Coimbatore

Salem —Mr Kristnaswamy Pout Salem

Cuddapah —Mr M Nageswara Row Pleader Cuddapah

Anantapore —Mr P Kesava Pillay Pleader and member of the Local Board Anantapur

Bellary —Mr A Sabapathy Moodeliyar Merchant landholder and chairman of the Municipality Bellary

Not only were all parts of India thus represented but also most classes there were barristers solicitors pleaders merchants landowners bankers medical men newspaper editors and proprietors principals and professors of independent colleges headmasters of schools religious teachers and reformers There were Hindus of many castes high and low Mahomedans (though owing to certain unfortunate accidents far fewer than were expected) and Christians, both Native Eurasian and European All the leading Native political Associations and the principal Anglo native newspapers were represented there were members of Legislative Councils Presidents and members of Municipal Committees and Local Boards and it is difficult to conceive any gathering of this restricted number more thoroughly representative of the entire nation than was this Congress of which the *Daily Gazette* had the following interesting notice — A new era is marked in the political history of this Presidency with the organisation of what is called a National Conference which held on Monday its first sitting in Bombay Poona was at first selected for this meeting and Delegates from all parts of India had already assembled there but owing to the prevalence of cholera in the capital of the Deccan the Delegates had to be brought down to this city, and here they have been accommodated in the spacious building of the institution which is known as The Goculdas Tejpal Boarding school Sanskrit College and Library situated at Gowalia Tank Before commencing the serious work for which the Conference is held an opportunity was given at an informal gathering on Sunday afternoon to those who are strangers to this city to be introduced to some of the representative men belonging to the native community of Bombay And the spectacle which presented itself of men representing the various races and communities castes and sub divisions of caste religions and sub divisions of religions met together in one place to form

themselves, if possible, into one political whole, was most unique and interesting For they had come not from the Presidency towns alone, but from all parts of India, and their presence afforded a most interesting study of the heads and head dresses typical of the numerous variety of castes and communities inhabiting this country There were men from Madras, the blackness of whose complexion seemed to be made blacker by spotless white turbans which some of them wore A few others hailing from that Presidency were bare headed and bare footed, and otherwise lightly clad their bodies from the waist upwards being only partially protected by muslin shawls It may fairly be presumed that they are the leading lights of the towns which they represent, and as such it may be supposed that they are well educated But they have preferred to retain their national dress and manners and in this respect they presented a marked contrast to the Delegates from Bengal Some of these appeared in entirely European costume, while others could be easily recognised as Babus by the peculiar cap with a flap behind which they donned None of them wore the gold rings or diamond pendents which adorned the ears of some of the Madrasses, nor had they their foreheads painted like their more orthodox and more conservative brethren from the Southern Presidency Then there were Hindustanis from such places as Delhi, Agra, Lucknow and Benares, some of whom wore muslin skull caps and dresses chiefly made of the same fine cloth On the other hand there were Delegates from the North West—bearded bulky, and large limbed men in their coats and flowing robes of different hues and in turbans like those worn by Sikh soldiers There were stalwart Sindhees from Kurrachee, wearing their own tall hat surmounted by a broad brim at the top In this strange group were to be observed the familiar figures of Banyas from Gujarat, of Marathas in their "cart wheel" turbans, and of Parsees in their not very elegant head dress, which they themselves have likened to a sloping roof Some members of this community had, however, appeared in their 'phenta' which is now largely patronised by the younger generation of Parsees and which threatens in course of time to supersede the time honoured turban All these men assembled in the same hall, presented such a variety of costumes and complexions, that a similar scene can scarcely be witnessed anywhere except at a fancy ball After the ceremony of introduction had been concluded, the Delegates freely exchanged with one another their views upon things in general and politics in particular They included a large number of lawyers and conductors of newspapers, and they all appeared to have agreed in the opinion that they had some political aspiration which could by no possibility clash with opposing interests, and that for the promotion of their common object there was a necessity for concerted action It may be easily imagined that there were some enthusiasts in their number, one of whom was profuse in the expression of his unbounded joy at seeing in flesh and blood good men and true working for the public weal, whom he had formerly known only by name "

## Report of the Proceedings of the Congress. First day—28th December 1885.

The first formal meeting of the Congress took place at 12, noon, of the 28th of December in the great Hall of the Gokuldas Tejpal Sanskrit College All the Representatives &c, having assembled,

It was proposed by Mr A. O Hume (Bengal) seconded by the Hon'ble Subramania Iyer (Madras) supported by the Hon'ble K T. Telang (Bombay)

and unanimously carried that Mr W C Bonerjee, Standing Counsel, Bengal, be invited to assume the office of the President of the Congress

The President elect, in rising to acknowledge the honour done him, said he might well be proud of being thus called on to preside over the first National Assembly ever yet convened in India Looking round he saw the representatives of all the important centres of the Bombay Presidency, Karrachi, Ahemdabad, Surat, Poona, Bombay itself, and other less populous though still important towns almost every district in the Madras Presidency was represented, as well as the towns of Madras, Salem, Coimbatore and others Of Bengal his friends and himself might to a certain extent be accepted as representatives since although owing to a series of misfortunes, deaths, illness and the like, of which the meeting were already aware Bengal was very inadequately represented so far as the numbers actually present were concerned, though as the delegated exponents of educated native thought in Bengal, they might claim a consideration to which their numerical strength would hardly entitle them Then there were the representatives of Lahore, Lucknow Agra, Allahabad, Benares, each representing political Associations collectively of very widespread influence Besides these representatives who would take an actual part in the proceedings he rejoiced to see present, as it were as *amici curiæ*, several of the most distinguished native officials of this country whose presence would materially enhance the weight and the dignity of the proceedings It was not merely provinces that were represented almost all the political Associations in the Empire were represented by one or more of the gentlemen present while as regards the Press the proprietors editors or delegates of the *Mirror*, the *Hindu* the *Indian Spectator* the *Tribune*, and others showed conclusively, the universality of the feeling which had culminated in this great and memorable gathering Surely never had so important and comprehensive an assemblage occurred within historical times on the soil of India He claimed for it an entirely representative character It was true that judged from the standard of the House of Commons they were not representatives of the people of India in the sense the members of the House were representatives of the constituencies But if community of sentiments, community of feelings and community of wants enabled any one to speak on behalf of others, then assuredly they might justly claim to be the representatives of the people of India It might be said that they were self elected, but that was not so The news that this Congress would be held had been known throughout the year in the different provinces of India and they all knew that everywhere the news had been received with great satisfaction by the people at large and though no formal elections had been held, the representatives had been selected by all the different Associations and bodies, and he only wished that all thus selected had been able to attend instead of their having now to lament the absence of many valued coadjutors whose attendance had been unhappily barred by various unfortunate circumstances

And now it seemed a fitting occasion for answering a question that had continually been asked in the world outside during the past few weeks viz, what the objects and aims of this great National Congress really were He would not pretend to reply to this question exhaustively The ensuing Proceedings would he believed, do this more effectually than any single speaker

could hope to do, but he might say briefly, that the objects of the Congress could for the most part be classed under the following heads —

(a) The promotion of personal intimacy and friendship amongst all the more earnest workers in our country's cause in the (Sic various?) parts of the Empire

(b) The eradication by direct friendly personal intercourse of all possible race, creed, or provincial prejudices amongst all lovers of our country and the fuller development and consolidation of those sentiments of national unity that had their origin in their beloved Lord Ripon's ever memorable reign

(c) The authoritative record after this has been carefully elicited by the fullest discussion of the matured opinions of the educated classes in India on some of the more important and pressing of the social questions of the day

(d) The determination of the lines upon and methods by which during the next twelve months it is desirable for native politicians to labour in the public interests

Surely there was nothing in these objects to which any sensible and unprejudiced man could possibly take exception and yet on more than one occasion remarks had been made by gentlemen who should have been wiser, condemning the proposed Congress as if it were a nest of conspirators and disloyalists Let him say once for all and in this he knew well after the long informal discussions that they had and had amongst themselves on the previous day, that he was only expressing the sentiments of every gentleman present that there were no more thoroughly loyal and consistent well wishers of the British Government than were himself and the friends around him In meeting to discuss in an orderly and peaceable manner questions of vital importance affecting their well being they were following the only course by which the constitution of England enabled them to represent their views to the ruling authority Much had been done by Great Britain for the benefit of India and the whole country was truly grateful to her for it She had given them order she had given them railways and above all she had given them the inestimable blessing of Western education But a great deal still remained to be done The more progress the people made in education and material prosperity, the greater would be the insight into political matters and the keener their desire for political advancement He thought that their desire to be governed according to the ideas of Government prevalent in Europe was in no way incompatible with their thorough loyalty to the British Government All that they desired was that the basis of the Government should be widened and that the people should have their proper and legitimate share in it The discussions that would take place in this Congress would, he believed, be as advantageous to the ruling authorities as he was sure it would be to the people at large

Telegrams of sympathy with the objects of the Congress were then read from the British Indian Association from the Provincial Conference recently held at Calcutta from a Public Meeting held in Assam under the presidency of the Hon Mr Ananda Mohun Bose, &c &c,

The Chairman then having formally declared the Congress open, Mr G Subramania Iyer (Madras) rose and spoke to the First Resolution as follows —

GENTLEMEN

The proposition which I have been asked to move relates to a subject of the utmost importance to the country, it relates to a periodical enquiry into

Since the abolition of the East India Company those checks and safeguards have mostly disappeared, because although Parliament exercises in theory the ultimate and responsible control over the Indian Government, it has practically surrendered it to the India Council. This Council, you are aware, is only a resuscitation in a slightly modified shape of the body of mercantile rulers which Parliament, after deep and prolonged consideration, abolished as being inconsistent with the good government of a dependency like that of India. It is wonderful that the great statesmen of England should abolish the Company, seeing its incompetency and its maladministration, and in the same breath should bless it with fresh life in the shape of an even more incompetent and more dis... body. Be it as it may, it is a fact that the power that Parliament assumed in theory and the direct responsibility it undertook have been seldom exercised, and on those rare occasions when Parliament exercised them it was not to save Indian interests, not to save them from the effects of a spirit of irresponsible and ambitious enterprise or of reckless innovation, but to sacrifice them to the exigencies of English politics. In many respects India has has been a loser by the transfer of the Government to the Crown instead of a gainer. Since that time the condition of the people has undergone a most distressing deterioration. They have been subjected to a tighter and less sympathetic despotism, and the expenditure and indebtedness of their Government have increased in a ratio utterly disproportionate to all improvement in its financial resources.

I said that since the abolition of the East India Company the ultimate control and responsibility of the Indian Government that was transferred to the Crown had been seldom exercised disinterestedly or for the benefit of the Indian people. There is, however, fair reason to believe that a change is coming over Parliament and the English public generally in this respect, and that if they be placed in possession of correct facts they will be better able to comprehend their duty and responsibility and their interference will result in substantial good. Well, Gentlemen, are Parliament and the people in England in possession of such correct facts? Do they possess accurate evidence to convince them that the delegates of their power in India have properly discharged their trust hitherto? Are they certain that the policy that they have deliberately laid down for the government of their dependency is carried out in a liberal and fair spirit? Do they know that the just, the generous, and the noble pledges of Her Majesty, pledges made deliberately on a most solemn occasion, have not been ignored, nay, have often been assumed to be mere meaningless protestations prompted by a ceremonial necessity? Yet the Proclamation of the Queen, containing these pledges, is cherished by the Indian people as the great charter of their privileges and rights, as their guarantee against the vagaries of irresponsible alien administration, as the basis, in fact, of their future progress. About the feelings and opinions of the populations of India as well as about the manner in which the declared policy of the Sovereign, Parliament and Ministers of England are practically carried out, the great Legislature of England is utterly ignorant. It cannot for obvious reasons attend to Indian matters as a portion of its regular business, nor has it done anything during the past twenty five years to take stock of the results of the change made in 1858. In future years the internal and external interests of the United Kingdom will demand, in view of their growing dimensions and complications, even more exclusive attention, more devotion and talent than hitherto, while Indian problems themselves will assume increased gravity and require deliberate and cautious handling.

At present, on almost every important Indian question, there is extreme difference of opinion. I do not know whether there is any other country in the world of which such contradictory opinions are held regarding the most vital questions by men whose opinions are entitled to respectful attention. While one set of very estimable men assert that India is growing happier and more prosperous under the effects of British rule, another set hold just the contrary opinion and state on very plausible evidence that India is sinking in exhaustion and, unless prompt and radical remedies are adopted by Parliament, her complete ruin is only a matter of time. Again while officials and their advocates say that the system of the Indian Government is the most perfect and the most benevolent system in the world, almost the whole body of non-official critics declare that under the alien and unsympathetic bureaucracy which holds itself responsible to no higher authority, to no public opinion and to no moral principles in political relations, it is impossible that the regeneration of the country can be accomplished. So too regarding other questions, such as the true financial condition of the country, the system of our land administration, the employment of Natives in the higher branches of the civil and the military administration, the most divergent views are held. How long can such an uncertain state of things continue? How does England mean to do justice to her responsibility and the well-being of 250 millions of human beings, if her best men remain bewildered at the contradictory views put forth on some of the first problems of good government in India and otherwise continue ignorant of the facts relating to their most obvious duties and obligations? I do not forget that in official reports and in the utterances of official apologists facts of a certain description are placed before the English public. But I believe, gentlemen, there is common sense enough in England which refuses to accept as incontrovertible truths the account given by the bureaucracy of its own conduct and doings. The members of the bureaucracy must be heaven-sent, indeed, not in any ironical sense, if they ever in public documents speak ill of themselves and deliberately go about to deprive themselves of their occupation. It ought to strike every person possessing common sense that the one-sided and flattering account given by the Civil Service of its own performances should not be accepted without extraneous corroborative evidence. The necessity for this extraneous evidence would be felt all the more in the face of the perplexing contradictions with which Indian controversial literature abounds.

Well, gentlemen, in soliciting an inquiry into the affairs of our country, our object is nothing more than to see that correct and full evidence relating to the real wants of the country and to the requirements of its future well-being is placed before the English public. The inquiry, we may hope, will be entrusted to men of the highest rank among English politicians, to men who represent what is best in the instincts and character of the English nation, who uphold and cherish the progressive element in their political system, and to men whose principles of statesmanship have made England what she is among the modern countries of the world. We want in the body, which may be entrusted with the inquiry, men of broad principles and liberal training rather than men of local and special knowledge. Under the direction of such men the inquiry will be full and impartial, and will lead, as similar inquiries have led in the past, to the emphasising or to the fresh application in the government of this country of those great first principles of political progress which it is the glory of England to have dis-

cover d Gentlemen, all of us have the utmost confidence in the justice and fairness of the English people, and we have only to solicit an inquiry into facts, being content to leave the issue in the hands of their great political leaders be they of one party or the other, of the Conservative or the Liberal party

Gentlemen, I have confined myself to very general remarks and have refrained from saying anything about the scope and constitution of the Committee of inquiry we pray for These are matters of detail and may be safely left for future consideration With these remarks I beg to recommend to your favourable consideration the proposition that has been placed in my hands namely, "That this Congress earnestly approves of the promised Committee to inquire into the working of the Indian administration

Mr Pherozeshah M Mehta in seconding the above proposition, remarked —

That it was not needful to prove the desirability or necessity of an enquiry into Indian affairs since the leading men of both English parties have joined in admitting it But while it was satisfactory to find both parties of one mind on this point, that circumstance itself rendered it extremely requisite to watch carefully the composition of the body to which such an enquiry would be entrusted The conditions under which the old Parliamentary Committee were appointed to enquire into the administration of the E I Company had altered and it was necessary to adopt a mode of enquiry suited to the altered state of things Three considerations had therefore to be borne in mind The body entrusted with the enquiry should be of a character that would enable it to pursue its investigations in India itself Secondly it was essential that the natives of this country should be represented on it, and thirdly that the Commission or Committee should take evidence in India Mr Mehta was strongly of opinion that unless the enquiry was granted in the manner pointed out it would be almost better to have no enquiry at all Parliamentary Committees and Royal Commissions were not to be had within short intervals and it would be disastrous to have a body composed mainly of Anglo Indians sitting in judgment upon themselves They could well imagine beforehand the conclusions to which such a body would arrive—superficially plausible but essentially unsound These conclusions would be accepted for guiding principles for at least another twenty years, and the mischief thus ensuing would be incalculable He trusted that the enquiry would be of such a character as to ensure confidence on all sides Fairly conducted and properly constituted such an enquiry would be of immense service to the future government of this country by allaying many alarms correcting many prejudices exposing many fallacies and establishing sound principles in harmony with the healthy progress of time

Babu Norendronath Sen said —It would be the height of absurdity for any sane person European or Native at this hour of the day to think of denying the importance of a Parliamentary enquiry into Indian affairs after the experience that we have had for nearly twenty seven years, of the working of the system of direct government of India by the Queen without any enquiry at all during that long period The neglect of such an enquiry which had been previously of regular recurrence though at varying intervals of time has been most disastrous in its consequences to the Indian people. The transfer of the Government of India from the Company to the Crown has been almost, if not alto-

gether, nominal, since it carried with it, and still retains, the worst features of the old system of administration—the present Indian Council merely taking the place of the old Court of Directors, with this further disadvantage that the Board of Control which looked after, and supervised, the action of the Court of Directors was abolished, and that the wholesome check of a liability to the loss of their charter—in case of proved misrule—under which the East India Company always governed this country, was destroyed. The remedy has thus proved worse than the disease. Whatever may have been the defects of the old East India Company, this much can be said in their favour, that acting under the restraints I have mentioned, they took very good care to see that India was governed, so as not to cause grave discontent in the Native population. Their efforts were directed generally to the promotion of measures, which did not bear harshly on the people, and the main ground on which they generally claimed a renewal of their Charter, on each expiry of its term, was that they governed the country in the interests of its Native population. Whatever great advantages we enjoy at the present day are due entirely to the reforms which were introduced during the East India Company's rule on each renewal of the charter, which they obtained. No particular reforms, worth mentioning, have been introduced into the country since the direct assumption of its government by the Queen Empress, because of the abolition of the good old system of enquiring into Indian affairs with the abolition of the East India Company themselves. Twenty seven years is a long time and the changes those years have wrought are almost marvellous. But no corresponding change has been made in the administration of the country to keep pace with the progress of the people. Great reforms in the present administrative system are urgently called for. We want a Parliamentary enquiry into Indian affairs with the view that the urgent necessity for such reforms may be made as clear as the sun at noon day. A close and constant Parliamentary control over Indian affairs is the one thing essentially needed to satisfy the feelings of the people, and to improve the condition of the country. If it had not been for even such occasional control, as the Parliament does exercise, our lot would have been simply intolerable. But no such control can be advantageously exercised by Parliament without a searching enquiry into Indian affairs. There is very much ignorance in Parliament in regard to Indian questions. Not only is India not represented in Parliament but it wants also a party that would identify itself with Indian interests.

The truth as regards this country hardly ever reaches Parliament. It is certainly not the interest though it is undoubtedly the duty of the Indian Council to make it known to Parliament for that body, under its present constitution, is the greatest obstruction to all Indian reforms. As a matter of fact there is no actual or even approximate representation of India in any of the great Councils of the State whether in India or in England. Our Legislative Councils in this country are merely shams. The truth is always burked. It is never allowed to rise to the surface, and good care is always taken by the official classes to see that a true representation of Indian views and feelings never goes to the British public and the British Parliament. The Anglo Indian or official view of every Indian question is always placed before the British public, whether through the Press or the platform or in Parliament. Thus India is allowed to be governed from England in entire ignorance of the wants and wishes of the Indian people. But ignorance is

excusable What is even wo se is that when Native public opinion on any question of importance is known, it is completely ignored and disregarded It is this that we most bitterly complain of and that almost breaks our hearts We, therefore, want a searching and independent Parliamentary enquiry into Indian affairs, in order that the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth may come out, as the result of such enquiry, and that Indian reforms may be introduced on the lines suggested by such enquiry And in order that the truth may be got at, we wish to see a Parliamentary Committee of enquiry come out to this country and take the evidence of the best and most independent portion of the Indian community—I mean the Native community of India, who will bear testimony without fear or favour, and who will conceal nothing A Parliamentary enquiry held and carried out in England, will not be as complete and effectual, as it will be if it is directed to be held by a Royal Commission sent to India Such an enquiry will not only be most interesting but most useful as a sort of stock taking after the trial that the system of direct Government of India by the Queen has passed through uninterruptedly during the long lapse of twenty seven years

Mr Dayaram Jethmal * rose to propose an amendment which was seconded by Mr Oodharam Moolchand and was as follows

That the following words be added to the proposition as moved — and hopes that such enquiry will be by a Royal Commission which should be fairly constituted and which should have instructions to take evidence both in England and in India " Speaking in support of his amendment Mr Dayaram pointed out that the Resolution as proposed was lame and would show that the Congress had arrived at a lame conclusion It did not express the national wish it expressed a mere approval of the proposed enquiry and did not ask for any thing further He reminded the meeting that the Resolution did not state what the constitution of the Commission of Inquiry should be and where evidence should be taken, which were the points on which an expression of the national wish was very necessary, if the proposed enquiry was to be of much practical good He laid stress upon the difference between an inquiry by a Parliamentary Committee and a Royal Commission and said that whereas the former would take evidence in England and would be composed of some members of Parliament the latter would be of a different character as it would be competent to take evidence in India and could be composed of well informed men who understood Indian affairs better than members of Parliament If the Resolution as proposed was adopted, India would have no right to complain if the inquiry was not satisfactorily carried on whereas if his amendment were embodied in the Resolution and the proposed inquiry were conducted by a Parliamentary Committee without evidence being taken in India we should not be in a position to say that we did not get what we wanted

Mr P M Mehta observed that he had no objection to adopt Mr Dayaram's amendment

Mr J U Yajnik said that the constitution of a Royal Commission rested entirely with the Ministry in power at the time of its appointment It was by no means possible to say whether a Liberal or a Conservative Ministry would be in office when the Committee came to be appointed And therefore there would be much chance of men being appointed who would not take impartial views of the

* Since appointed a Member of the Bombay Legislative Council

matters that would come before them He thought, therefore, that the proposition should remain as it was, couched in general terms

Mr. K T Telang believed that a Parliamentary Committee could not take evidence in India—a most important consideration.

Mr K L Nulkar would support Mr Dayaram's suggestion. It was absolutely necessary that evidence should be taken in India A Royal Commission would do that, and would also be independent of English political parties

Mr D E Watcha said that the Congress should ask for a Royal Commission The Parliamentary Committee on Indian Finance broke off by dissolution of Parliament without making any final report though a mass of valuable evidence was collected That might occur again

Mr V Subrayadu was not in favour of the proposed amendment Let the authorities consider the course proper to be adopted It might look like dictation to Parliament if the Congress adopted the proposed amendment Details as to place of examining witnesses &c might be considered hereafter

Mr Sabapathy Mudaliar dissented from the last speaker's view about the amendment looking like dictation

Mr J. Ghosal thought that evidence must be taken in India but perhaps they might try a Select Committee and afterwards ask for a Royal Commission if that was found necessary

Mr A O Hume suggested the omission of the phrase "fairly constituted" and Dr S A Athalye having supported the suggestion, the proposer and seconder of the Resolution agreed to its omission

Mr Sabapathy Mudaliar of Bellary said the Royal Commission, like the Famine Commission should go about travelling in the country and enquire into the nature of the administration of the country and personally examine witnesses

Mr P Peter Pillai from Tinnevelly District said —I would support the proposed amendment to the resolution so that the Royal Commission or Parliamentary Committee might be a great and real success Unless there is some good organisation or system of working such Commissions and Committees, they will not be of much use Mr Sabapathy Mudaliar of Bellary alluded to the Famine Commission I came in contact with the Commission and I closely studied its various questions and system of working I had anticipated the failure of the Commission and I published a review of the working of it in a public journal When I met Mr William Digby, who took great interest in famine matters, I told him that nothing would come out of it productive of much good to the country My remark has been fully verified Though the Commission had a great deal to do with questions affecting the general interests of the country, we find the condition of the ryots growing worse than before—in certain respects worse than what it was at the time of the Commission and the famine—for instance the forest laws the salt laws, the re-organisation of the village establishment &c, which are all very oppressive to the people Lately, there was the Education Commission. That is also a great failure I say this from personal experience, being connected with the Educational Department We have now some new difficulties in addition to the difficulties which the Commission professed to remove I do not say any thing disparagingly of the gentlemen that were in these Commissions They were all men of superior attainments and character

But the defect lies in the working and organisation of these Commissions, which were not of a sufficiently representative character and in which the wants of the people were not sufficiently represented Unless the Committee or Commission to be asked for be thoroughly representative in character, and unless a portion of the Commission is composed of members chosen by the people, either among Europeans or Indians, I do not entertain great hopes of the success of the Commission So I strongly support the amendment proposed

Mr Dadabhai Naoroji said —I had no thought of speaking on this resolution, but I see I must say something There is a notion running under some remarks, that if a Conservative Government appoints a Committee, it will not be a good one I do not think there is any good reason for that assumption The Conservatives are not so bad as that they will never do a good thing, nor are the Liberals so good that they never did a bad thing In fact we owe good to both, and we have nothing to do with them yet as parties We are thankful to either party that does us good The Proclamation is the gift of a Conservative Government I have some experience of a Parliamentary Committee, and that Committee, a Liberal one, and yet under the Chairmanship of a gentleman like Mr. Ayrton, you cannot be sure of a fair hearing On the other hand, a fair minded Chairman and similar members, be they Conservatives or Liberal, would make a good Committee and give a fair inquiry Much depends upon the Secretary of State for India If he is a fair minded person and not biassed in any particular way, you will have a fair Committee If we are asking for a Parliamentary Committee, we need not be afraid of asking one from a Conservative Government A Secretary of State like Sir Stafford Northcote (Lord Iddesleigh) will give a fair one, and we should not assume that the present Secretary will not give a good one We should only desire that Anglo-Indians may not be put in it, or only a few such in whom Natives have confidence In such an enquiry Anglo Indian officials are on their trial, and they should not be allowed to sit in judgment upon themselves

From the remarks already made, there appears to be an undecidedness, whether to ask for a Committee, or for a Royal Commission And there seems also a notion underneath, that if we were not satisfied with the one we could ask for the other Now we must bear in mind that it is not an easy thing to get a Parliamentary Committee or a Royal Commission and that you cannot have either whenever you like Do not suppose that if we have a Committee or a Commission and if we say we are dissatisfied with its results, we would at once get another for the asking We must make up our minds definitively as to what we want and what would be the best thing for us You should not leave it open whether there should be a Committee or Commission Whichever you want, say it out once for all In dealing with Englishmen make up your minds deliberately, speak clearly, and work perseveringly Then and then only can you hope to be listened to and get your wishes You must not show that you do not know your own mind Therefore, know your own mind, and say clearly whether you desire a Parliamentary Committee or a Royal Commission It is evidently the desire here, that a full and impartial enquiry by fair and high minded English statesmen, with an adequate number of Natives on the enquiring body, should be carried on in India itself If so, then we must remember that a Parliamentary Committee

can consist only of members of Parliament, and can sit in the Parliament House only. For our purpose to lay bare the actual conditions of India an inquiry in India in all departments and in the whole condition of India—material and moral—is absolutely necessary. No enquiry in England, and that with the evidence of Anglo Indians chiefly—who themselves are on trial, and who would not naturally condemn their own doings and work—can ever bring out the truth about India's true condition and wants and necessary reforms. We, then, irresistibly come to one conclusion that an enquiry in India itself is absolutely necessary, and that such an enquiry can be conducted by a Royal Commission. Only let us clearly say our mind that we ask for a Royal Commission. Do not let there be any doubt about what we do really want. If I am right in interpreting your desire then I say let there be no vague general resolution, but say clearly and distinctly that we require a Royal Commission.

After some further discussion in which Mr S. Agnihotri, Mr Ananda Charlu, Mr Rangayya Naidu and Mr B. M. Malabari took part, Mr P. M. Mehta explained that there was no insinuation contained in the words "fairly constituted." They were intended to emphasize the necessity for a Commission about which no room should be left for dissatisfaction as a second Commission would not be granted soon after the first.

The President in summing up the debate pointed out that every one wanted an inquiry in India as well as in England and that that really would be best secured by adopting a resolution asking for a Royal Commission.

The Resolution was then unanimously carried in the following form:—

"That this Congress earnestly recommends that the promised enquiry into the working of the Indian administration here and in England should be entrusted to a Royal Commission, the people of India being adequately represented thereon, and evidence taken both in India and in England."

The Congress was then adjourned to 8 A.M. of the following day.

# PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

## 2nd Day, 29th December 1885.

The Congress having assembled at 8 A. M. Mr. S. H. Chiplonkar (of Poona) rose to move the 2nd Resolution in the following speech:

Mr. Chairman and Members of the National Congress.—The resolution which I have to propose for your acceptance relates to the India Council of the Secretary of State for India. This Council is a remnant, though in another shape, of the form of government that prevailed in the days of the East India Company, and in my humble opinion the time has arrived when the necessity or otherwise of the existence of such an institution as the India Council should be considered. It was perhaps inevitable when the government of this country was vested in a commercial corporation that that corporation should have delegated its trust to a Managing Board, but it seems to me to be very strange that the same device should be perpetuated after the government of this country has been transferred to the Crown. The practical result of this state of things is that though nominally we are said to be directly governed by the British Crown and Parliament, we are still virtually under the government of the Company, nay more, for in some respects, Sir, we may be said to be worse off than before. Unlike the old Court of Directors, the India Council is composed almost exclusively of retired Anglo-Indian officials who as a class are naturally prone, often from force of habit and sometimes from force of conviction, to hand down to their successors the British Indian Empire in pretty nearly the same condition in which they found it, and who from the operation of the same causes are incapable of being struck by the abuses of that system which gave them birth, though such abuses might at first sight strike any superficial independent observer. Sir, even the authors of the Government of India Act of 1858 did not contemplate such a consummation with equanimity or without misgivings, for we find the late Lord Beaconsfield even then confessing that "with such men (i. e. retired Anglo-Indian officials) exercising supreme authority you could not feel sure that you would be able to obtain for the inhabitants of India that redress from the grievances under which they suffered that English protection ought to secure." The question therefore, naturally arises what is it that English protection ought to secure to the people of India? I think you will all agree with me in holding that English protection ought to secure the gradual and progressive advance of this country in its political status and indirectly also in its social status, for it may, I trust, afford some consolation to those of my brethren within these walls as well as outside who have the cause of social reform in India at heart to know—and I may be permitted here to passingly observe that English history strikingly emphasizes this lesson—that political progress must bring social progress also in its train, for I hold that a nation which

is politically forward cannot long afford to be socially backward, and that a nation which is politically backward can never hope to be socially forward It thus follows that the constitution of the Government of India in England must be framed primarily with a view to this object It is necessary to draw a distinction between the Government of India in England and the Government of India in India The former should be constituted with a view to bring to bear upon the latter the opinion of the Parliament and people of England and to make the latter realise their responsibility to that opinion To enable the former to discharge these functions adequately a knowledge of local details is not absolutely necessary, nay I would go further and say that such a knowledge of local details would decidedly constitute a positive disqualification in the controlling authority for the simple reason that such intimate knowledge of local details leads its possessors to sacrifice general principles of good government to local prejudices engendered by bureaucratic selfishness and to rely almost exclusively upon those prejudices in their conduct of Indian affairs What we should look for and have a right to expect in any authority constituted in England and invested with the power of controlling the actions of the Government of India in India is an intimate acquaintance with the general principles of human nature and of good government uncontaminated by local and bureaucratic prejudices In the India Council constituted as it now is you have nothing but an intimate knowledge of local details and consequently it is no wonder that the India Council ever since its establishment in 1858 has been developing an ever increasing desire for interference in all manner of details It possesses no substantive power which at one time the advocates of its continued existence believed it to possess and to my mind this circumstance accounts for its incre[illegible]sire to interfere in all the details of

Council of that power of financial control It will be thus seen Sir that neither Liberals nor Conservatives wanted the India Council to be anything more than a mere consultative body Under such circumstances, I believe I am fully justified in citing the testimony of the late John Stuart Mill in favour of the Resolution I am submitting for your acceptance

At the very commencement of my observations I have stated my belief, that though we are nominally under the direct government of the Crown and Parliament of England yet we are still virtually under the government of the East India Company, nay I might go further and add that while the existing constitution of the English portion of the Indian administration possesses to the fullest extent all the vices or shortcomings of its predecessor it possesses none of its redeeming features It is unnecessary to go into details and it will be sufficient for the purposes of my argument if I notice here briefly the striking results of British administration in India and Ceylon which are, each of them, governed on separate principles, it being of course well known that Ceylon is governed on Colonial principles Firstly then the race disqualification, which was sought to be removed by the Ilbert Bill, does not exist in Ceylon, where the Native and European Magistrates and Judges enjoy similar powers as regards their jurisdiction over European British born subjects Secondly, as regards the maximum limit of age for candidates competing for the Civil Service Examination of Ceylon it is even now fixed at 24, while for India the maximum limit is fixed at 19 thus practically shutting the door of public competition to the natives of India Thirdly as regards the disestablishment of the English Church Ceylon has already obtained what it wanted, while we in India can hardly be said to have entered upon even the first stage of the question And fourthly and lastly the Ceylon Legislative Council has for several years past been representative in its character inasmuch as the independent or non official members of that Legislature are elected by the respective communities which they represent, and not nominated by Government as in India In this connection it has also to be borne in mind, that the independent members of the Ceylon Legislature have the privilege of interpellating the official members of the body on executive matters—a privilege which is entirely denied to us in India But by far the most important feature in connection with the powers and privileges of the Ceylon Legislature has yet to be noticed That feature consists in the fact that that Legislature possesses a complete control over the finances in that the annual budget must be discussed and sanctioned by it In India it is different The Indian Budget is never presented to the Indian Legislature for approval and sanction except upon those occasions when new taxation is contemplated Thus it comes to pass that so long as the Indian Government can manage to pull on without additional taxation the Indian Legislature has no opportunity afforded to it of examining and criticizing the budget Mr Chairman and gentlemen you will all I dare say, agree with me in holding that the extreme importance of this last mentioned privilege cannot be exaggerated, for it cannot for a moment be denied that that privilege alone has enabled Ceylon to enjoy an immunity which we in India might well envy, from having to bear oppressive burdens which do not rightly belong to it Ceylon has never had to bear, for instance the cost of the Abyssinian War, of the Egyptian Expedition or of the entertainment of the Sultan of Turkey when in London The question therefore naturally arises, what is the cause of this difference in the treatment which India and Ceylon receive at the hands of one common mistress? It surely cannot be found in the

character of the people of the two countries, for as a race the Cinghalese or the natives of Ceylon are not only not superior to the Hindus in intelligence, political capacity, or civilization, but on the contrary are admittedly their inferiors The late Sir Erskine Perry, who knew both the countries well, bore such a testimony to our superiority over the natives of Ceylon In his speech during the course of the debate in the House of Commons on Lord Palmerston's motion for leave to introduce his India Bill, Sir Erskine Perry said that — "he knew the island (Ceylon) well, and was able to say, that notwithstanding the inferiority of the Cinghalese to the Hindus as a race, the improvement, the progress and the civilization, that had taken place there, under the Queen's Government, were infinitely greater than could be boasted of in India Since 1858, India too, like Ceylon, has been direct under the Queen's Government for nearly one whole generation and yet it must be sorrowfully confessed that we have not been able to overtake our cousins of the neighbouring island in the race of progress and civilization That island still maintains its superiority over the main continent as intact as ever And this fact necessarily suggests the question, what is the prime cause of this sad and sorry spectacle? To my mind it appears that only one answer is possible to the question formulated above Abolish the India Council and let the Indian Secretary of State direct the Government of this country on the same principles on which the Secretary of State for the Colonies governs Ceylon and the other Colonies and you will soon observe a change for the better coming over India The monstrous fiction that in the India Council India would and did find an institution to represent her and to jealously and efficiently watch her interests did at no time, and does not even now, deceive any one in India, and I am loth to believe that though such a fiction might have deceived the English nation in days long gone by, it can deceive that nation any longer It is this fiction which is primarily and principally responsible for the great body of the evils this country is labouring under, and unless it receives its death blow, which, I firmly believe it will receive when it is next put upon its trial, India can never hope to obtain that measure of justice which is her due. With these observations I beg to move for your acceptance the Resolution with which I have been charged, namely "That this Congress considers the abolition of the Council of the Secretary of State for India, as at present constituted, the necessary preliminary to all other reforms"

In seconding the Resolution MR P Ananda Charlu addressed the Congress as follows — I rise to do a duty that has an unpleasant feature about it It consists in proposing that we should turn undertakers There is, however, one circumstance that relieves it of much of its disagreeablenees The proposal is made under the call of our mother country and in her best interests Under such a call and in such interests I take it that we shall not hesitate to turn undertakers, and even worse within constitutional limits What then is the thing the extinction of which we have to propose? It is what is quaintly designated "The India Council"—not any Indian Council, or any Council doing duty *in* India How is it composed? What is its history? In its inception, it was little better than a relic of the discredited John Company, for when the whole body of the East India Company was found to be inefficient, a part of that very inefficient body was considered fitter to do what the entire body was incapable of doing This method of procedure is *prima facie*, queer But, perhaps, nothing better was feasible under the circumstances, consistently with the conflicting interests that had then to be taken into account. Be that as it may,

the institution at its formation was a mere relic, kept alive, I must assume, as the best makeshift then possible In its next stage of development it was no better, for it was mainly little else than an oligarchy of fossilised Indian administrators, presided over by the Secretary of State—a member of the British Cabinet Nearly every vacancy, as it occurred was filled by such as had been declared superannuated for service *in* India and it is difficult to see how a body of such men could fulfil the functions of a Council which is virtually the final arbiter of India's destinies and which has to grapple with far more weighty problems than call for solution *in* India I do not forget that there is a transit to a far more propitious climate But that does not count for very much The change might put off dissolution or might diminish the rate of decline but it is inconceivable that, after the meridian of life had long been passed, the change could restore the mental and physical energy of vigorous manhood Then, again the Indian experience of these men is not abreast of the times, as they have long been removed from, and are, for all practical purposes, beyond the reach of the influences and forces actually in operation *in* India It is not in the nature of things possible for these and such as these to do justice to growing Indian requirements The evil effects of these manifestly infirmatory features in the members are aggravated by the absolute supremacy which is reserved to the Secretary of State for India as the President of the Council In practice, as well as by the letter of the law this tremendous authority is reserved to the President, and it does not require much effort of imagination to realize the utter helplessness of the Council when its views are overridden by the dictator No machinery exists for an appeal to Parliament in the instance of the India Council as against the decision of the Secretary of State and I think this is after all not a matter of regret for, supposing such a machinery existed the result would be no better, as the Secretary of State for India, possessing the ear of his fellow Cabinet ministers enjoys by that circumstance the command of a Parliamentary majority as a matter of course Without at all imputing to the British Cabinet a wanton desire to injure India it may well be predicated that when opposed to purely British interests, Indian interests will always give way Thus we find, by an examination of its constitution and by calculation of probabilities, that the India Council contains no elements of usefulness, but contains a great many elements tending to do harm One of the previous speakers said that the British Parliament, conscious of its powerlessness to do justice to the claims of India, abdicated its right as a final Court of appeal in favour of the India Council which was evidently instituted as an experiment The experiment has failed according to the universal verdict, and we wish that an institution which has luckily not existed for quite a generation yet but which having been weighed in the balance has been found wanting may cease to exist What is proposed to take its place as a more effectual body to dispose of Indian matters does not fall within my province The proposition to be next moved will contain the provision for its substitute The true scope of my duty is to indicate the inefficiency of the existing Council and the necessity of its abolition as a primary condition of all other reforms For the purposes of the proposal which I am seconding, it is enough to say that no improvement is possible till this Council is abolished, without at all implying that, by itself, such a step will at once right every thing To adopt the Rev. Sidney Smith's happy way of putting a like case, "the medical man does not tell you, you will be all right, *when* the bile is got rid of, but he tells you that you will *not* be right, *till after* the bile is got rid of" With these remarks I beg to second the proposition before you.

Mr J Ghosal (of Allahabad) made the following speech in support of the Resolution —Mr Chairman and gentlemen The subject of the resolution which I am called upon to support has for some time past occupied so much the attention of thoughtful men, who take any interest in the good administration of the Indian government both here and in England, and it has been so lucidly and ably discussed by the two previous speakers, that I have little or nothing to say in support of it

Regarding the necessity of abolishing, or at least reconstituting, the India Council, no two persons who have given the least thought to the subject have any difference of opinion There exists such a general agreement on the subject that no arguments are necessary to convince those who care to pay any attention to the subject that steps must be taken to effect a change in or to abolish the Council altogether without further loss of time, not only for the good of the people of this country, but also for that of the Government itself, because I consider what is good for the one is also good for the other

The India Council was no doubt instituted at first to serve a good and useful purpose, but practically it has proved otherwise, as is often found to be the case with many administrative arrangements made in different countries at different times Our best intended schemes are often found in practice to prove the contrary When the administration of this country was transferred from the East India Company to the Crown it was virtually transfrred to the Secretary of State for India Owing to the very constitution of the British Government and the frequent changes of party government in England there was, and still there is, no knowing who might become the Secretary of State for India and at what moment As a rule, persons having no previous connection with this country and possessing no knowledge of its affairs are selected to fill the post For such men to carry on properly the administration of this vast country, and that while sitting in England was considered almost an impossibility unless helped with in formation and advice by men who had real knowledge of this country and its people. Under the circumstances the English statesmen then in power thought it necessary to provide the Secretary of State with a Council whose members might not only help him but also to a certain extent serve as a check on his vagaries and high handedness No one could at that time find fault with such an arrangement Let us see, however, what have been its practical results and why For reasons already stated no single individual holds the office of Secretary of State for a long time, but the fifteen members of his Council are almost permanent fixtures there It is true that they are not now appointed to hold office during good behaviour, which meant almost for life, still the ten years for which they are now appointed is a pretty long time, and they are all considered great authorities on all questions concerning India The Secretary of State having no such pretensions cannot but be guided more or less by the views opinions and advice of these members, consequently, it is these members who virtually control and guide the administration of this country I may say the Secretary of State is almost bound to act according to their views I seu the general impression that, in matters concerning the expenditure of public funds, the Secretary of State possesses the power of acting without the concurrence of his Council, has no real foundation This is apparent from what has just been so ably explained by my friend, Mr Chiplonkar In fact, if the Secretary of State possessed the power, placed as he is, he would be most reluctant to use it except on rare occasions, when backed or guided by a

much stronger force, the policy of his party in Parliament, or the decision of the Cabinet Ministers. Knowing all these circumstances we look up to those fifteen members of the India Council as the most important personages in deciding the fate of our country. This brings us to a consideration of their qualifications for exercising such powers. Are they really fit to govern India or to control, give shape to, supervise, and to find out the defects in the policy of those who carry on the actual work of administration in this country? Almost all of them are retired Anglo Indian officials. Owing to the peculiar circumstances and surroundings of their position while in this country, some of these Anglo Indian officials have in them less of an Englishman than of an Oriental despot. Consider also gentlemen, the value of their knowledge of this country and its people. India is now passing through a rapid, very rapid transition. Look at the changes that have taken place within the last twenty, or say ten, years. The India of to day is very different even from the India of 1880. Five years ago who could have foreseen or believed that all classes of people, Hindoos, Mahomedans, Parsis and others, in every part of this vast country—Madras, Bombay, Bengal, Punjab, North West Provinces, Oudh, etc., would, without any pre arrangement or inter communication simultaneously become so enthusiastic in manifesting their grateful feelings for a single individual as they did in their demonstrations towards our late beloved Viceroy, Lord Ripon, on the occasion of his retirement from the country. Again five years ago the very idea of such a national gathering as this of delegates from every part of India, belonging to different castes and creeds, uniting for common objects, and travelling long distances almost at a moment's notice—because it is not yet a month since the time and place of this Congress were fixed and notified—the very idea of National Congress would have been considered utopian or impossible. The members of the India Council would be the very last persons to believe that since their departure from India the country has undergone such a mighty change. The knowledge possessed by these members regarding India is of very little use at the present moment. Their ideas and notions of the India of their days and its people have become almost ancient. As men grow in age, their opinions and convictions as well as their prejudices are liable to become fixed and stereotyped and their capability to understand and reali[redacted] the effects of the changes daily taking place around them is proportionatel[redacted] diminished. Even when they understand them they feel disinclined to adapt[redacted] themselves to the altered state of things. For this reason the conclusions a[redacted]ved at by these members of the India Council are often formed on a wrong b[redacted]s, and, therefore sometimes they do us harm even in wishing to do us good. [redacted] is a well known fact that the generality of Anglo Indian officials conduct th[redacted]ministration of this country in a manner which best ensures the preserva[redacted]f their interests and of the services to which they belong. Their policy is [redacted]ys opposed to our advancement. And as the India Council is regularly rec[redacted]d from the very same class of officials its members are the perennial repr[redacted]tatives of Anglo Indian prejudice, policy, and interest. Honourable exceptio[redacted]re occasionally found among them, but these only prove the rule. Members[redacted] the India Council are, however, not always to be blamed for all the mischie[redacted]t is done to Indian interests. They are but human. In many cases they ha[redacted]o uphold the policy they themselves had been carrying on while in this countr[redacted]d sometimes they have to sit in judgment upon their own acts during their o[redacted]l careers. At other times they have to judge of the acts done by those [redacted]n they personally know well, of whose abilities they have high opinion

lucrative appointments for their relations—we want men who are in real sympathy with the educated classes and the people at large To speak plainly, we who suffer most on account of the shortcomings of our administrators, wish to have a real share in the administration of our own affairs We want to take the work of administration more and more into our own hands so far as it is compatible with the imperial policy of the British Government We cannot, however, expect this reform and a change in the fiscal policy of the country, until the India Council is abolished and the India Act of 1858 amended

With these observations, gentlemen, I beg to recommend to your favourable consideration the Resolution which I have been called upon to support.

Mr Sayani said he did not wish to oppose the Resolution, but rather to make an inquiry The India Council had existed for many years and we ought to be cautious in asking for its total abolition. Would not the Secretary of State become a perfect autocrat without the Council? And would it not be better to wait for the result of the inquiry that the Congress were asking for, as that inquiry must necessarily embrace this question of the existence and powers of the Indian Council?

Mr V Subrayadu said that fears had been expressed that if the India Council was abolished the Secretary of State would become a perfect autocrat He thought the Secretary of State was an autocrat now The Councillors are worthy men of antiquated notions and obsolete knowledge They are not representative, and it is difficult to arrange for a representative Council The system we should have is that which exists in the Colonies

Mr P M Mehta in reference to Mr Sayani s doubts pointed out that the inquiry asked for was not so much for the purpose of their making up their minds as for testing the conclusions they had come to. The case as regards the India Council seemed to him complete The other doubt of Mr Sayani had been answered by the late speaker (A member But the Colonies have Parliament of their own ) That is true, but I don't believe in secret irresponsible conclaves We must have a government carried out in open day light And here, continued Mr P M Mehta, I would ask leave to make a remark about a matter on which there is a great deal of misapprehension I wish all our countrymen to consider how far we can get on without the aid of what is called party government The system of English administration is based on party and our fortunes being bound up with England, we must resort to that system for our wants also In the English system, truth cannot be brought out except by the concussion of debate when each case is explained from both sides Returning to the main subject of debate, Mr P M Mehta said, Indian officers of Government were supposed to be unfit for work at the age of 55 Could it, then, be reasonably supposed that the effete Anglo Indian officials who are appointed to the India Council are less unfit? Further it must be remembered that these bureaucrats must always be partial to what their brother bureaucrats do out here as they have themselves done similar things in their time They are, therefore, an exceedingly unsatisfactory appellate tribunal over the local officers

Mr Sabapathi Mudaliar said that the abolition of the India Council is necessary not only for the sake of the efficient administration of the country, but it is also necessary in point of economy. The poverty of India is such as not to be able to afford to pay heavily for the double government when there is

nothing to recommend it By the abolition of the Council we shall obtain a large saving to the public revenue, and we shall have the further advantage of making the government more local than now

The Resolution was then put to the vote and carried unanimously

In proposing the next resolution, the Hon'ble K. T. Telang observed:—Mr President, I confess I feel a certain amount of embarrassment, because I happen just now to be a member of one of those bodies, the reform of which is insisted on in the Resolution that has been entrusted to me However, I will endeavour to do my best in placing that Resolution before you It runs as follows:—"That this Congress considers the reform and expansion of the Supreme and existing Legislative Councils, by the admission of a considerable proportion of elected members, (and the creation of similar Councils for the North West Provinces and Oudh, and also for the Punjab) essential, and holds that all Budgets should be referred to these Councils for consideration, their members being moreover empowered to interpellate the Executive in regard to all branches of the administration, and that a standing committee of the House of Commons should be constituted to receive and consider any formal protests that may be recorded by majorities of such Councils against the exercise by the Executive of the power, which would be vested in it, of overruling the decisions of such majorities." I think it will be convenient if I say a few words on each of the important points embraced in the Resolution I have now read In the first place there can be little doubt that the two great divisions of the Empire viz, the Punjaub and the North West Provinces and Oudh, ought to have Legislative Councils of their own It is unnecessary now to consider the question whether they should have had their own local Councils before We have got now to deal with the future and I do not anticipate that there will be any difference of opinion among ourselves on this point, that in future those Provinces should have Local Legislative Councils constituted like those which the other Provinces possess or may hereafter possess How should those Councils then, be constituted? At present they are almost entirely under the system of nomination I say almost entirely, because in the reign of our late beloved Viceroy, Lord Ripon, what may be called in some sense a new departure was made in the mode of nomination, when our late distinguished countryman Babu Kristodas Pal, was called into the Supreme Legislative Council And that mode has been followed in the appointment of the successor of Kristodas Pal—my friend Mr Pyari Mohan Mukarji Barring these exceptions, however, which may be said to prove the rule our Legislative Councils have always been recruited by nominations Now I do not know whether I am estopped as we lawyers phrase it, from saying that the practical working of this system has not always been satisfactory But however that may be, there can be no doubt that that system is now, at all events unsatisfactory in principle. Under the excellent scheme of Local Self-Government elaborated during the viceroyalty of Lord Ripon we shall have a complete network of Municipal and Rural Boards, which shall to a greater or less extent be manned by representatives of the people elected by the people themselves. And that being so, it seems quite manifest that as a keystone, so to say, to this arch of local elective bodies in each Presidency you must have elected Legislative Council at the capital city of each Presidency This seems obviously so appropriate that it is unnecessary to further labor

It will be noticed, that the phrase used in the Resolution is "a considerable proportion of elected members" This phrase has been used advisedly, as it does not seem to be desirable that we should now pledge ourselves to any specific proportion to be observed throughout the Empire Local conditions the laws enacted to effectuate local self-government in different Provinces, will have to be looked to in fixing the proportion in each case But it seems to me personally, that in order to give the principle of election a fair scope, at least one half of each Council should be elected In our Local Boards and Municipalities, Acts in this Presidency, that is the proportion fixed and it would not be a very revolutionary demand to ask for that proportion in the highest Council in each Presidency There is one important question in connection with this point as to election, which, as being one of detail and depending to a very large extent on local conditions, has not been dealt with in the Resolution itself But it is desirable that I should now refer to it We may be asked, what is your electoral constituency? How are you going to get your members elected? Well, as I say, I am not going to ask the Congress to come to any formal resolution on these points, but I think it is right that I should indicate some modes by which the thing can be done, if it is determined to do it For each Presidency Town, then, there are several well organised bodies to which the right of election may be given There are, for instance the Municipal Corporations of each of our Presidency Towns, which can be asked to return one or more members Then there are the Chambers of Commerce, and the Universities to which also such a right may properly be given Again, well established political Associations—such as the one whose aid the Government of India recently resorted to on the two occasions I have just named—might fairly be asked to return some members Thus we can get a satisfactory electoral body within the Presidency Towns But this is, of course very far from enough The Mofussil Districts must also be represented And for this purpose, too well established political Associations in the Districts might be utilized as well as the bodies which naturally present themselves as suitable for the purpose, namely, the various rural and Municipal Boards established in each Province It will be understood that I am making these remarks, not as showing what in my opinion should be done at once, but as showing rather, that while we leave open these questions touching the working out of the details of our scheme, we have bestowed some thought upon those questions, and can, when the time comes, suggest some feasible modes for their solution.

So much, for the constitution of the Councils Now as to their functions And the first additional function which this Resolution points out is one connected with finance Under the existing law and practice, financial Budgets have to be submitted to the Legislative Councils, whenever new measures of taxation have to be passed But according to a ruling of Lord Northbrook's, about the correctness of which it is not needful now to inquire, Budgets cannot be submitted to the Legislative Councils when new measures of taxation are not proposed by the Executive Government And we know, accordingly that such Budgets have only been published for many years as part of Government Resolutions Well, we propose that the practice prevailing in cases where new taxation is called for should be made the universal practice and be prescribed by law. It will be noticed that at present we only ask for the Budget being brought forward for consideration in the Councils We do not propose what would probably be a too radical measure just now—namely, that the Councils should have power to

reject the Budgets of the Executive Government But even without this power, which might conceivably hamper the work of Government, it must do some good, and can do no harm to allow non official views of Government measures to be publicly proclaimed by responsible persons in recognized modes, and in such a way that the constituted authorities must necessarily be informed about them and feel themselves called upon, in some sense to answer such views It seems to me quite obvious, that as I have said before our proposal on this point may fairly be expected to do some good and cannot possibly do any harm

Well, then, the next point is in reference to the power of interpellation This again appears to me to be a very moderate modicum of reform the concession of which cannot lead to any mischief I had occasion a few months ago to speak on this subject to an eminent authority in this Presidency who must for the present be nameless and an objection was then somewhat faintly, I may say suggested to this reform It was suggested that this power of interpellation may be abused, as it has been by Mr Ashmead Bartlett in the House of Commons I quite accepted then as I accept now the view that the power of interpellation is susceptible of being abused like any other power but I ventured to point that there was no reason to anticipate any such abuse of the power here, at all events for many years after it was first conceded And when the time comes it will be quite open to the authorities then to deal with the evil as may seem most fitting But until that time comes I think we may very fairly and reasonably consider the objection as beyond the pale of practical politics And now let us see what will be the advantages of giving such a power to our Councils In the first place we all know that at present the responsible authorities of Government have very few unexceptionable modes of quieting discontent by explanations of the motives and actions of Government There is no official journal and therefore no way which the officials consider to be consistent with their dignity for offering any information that may dispel dissatisfaction A power of interpellation vested in the Council affords a most unobjection able remedy for this state of things Again matters are always cropping up which do not attract attention at headquarters in time to avert mischief To these matters attention could be drawn in Council effectively and without much difficulty and at the same time, with the best results The whole administration will thus be popularised and friction between the rulers and the ruled minimised In questions like those which have arisen in connection with the Forest the Abkari or the land Revenue administration in this Presidency the existence of a general power of interpellation must be [illegible] of great good

Lastly we come to the point how differences of opinion in Council should be dealt with On unimportant points of course the Executive Government on the spot must decide finally— the responsibility for the administration being vested in them But on important points where also of course the Government on the spot must decide for the same reason it need not be allowed to decide finally If the point is important enough for a majority of the Council thus overruled by the Executive to record their protests such protests ought to go up for final decision to the great and Supreme Council of the British Empire—the House of Commons These protests would deal almost necessarily one may say with great and fundamental questions of policy and upon them even under present arrangements the ultimate authority now rests with the House of Commons

On that point also, therefore, our proposals cannot be fairly regarded, as either impracticable or revolutionary

I do not know, Mr President, that I need say more on the present occasion The subject is one which has been frequently discussed by our countrymen, and there is a general consensus of opinion amongst us The remarks, therefore, which I have ventured to address you really embody the main reasons upon which we have generally arrived at the conclusion that the reforms mentioned in this Resolution ought now to be undertaken Those reforms I venture to think are in themselves quite reasonable, they are thoroughly practicable and not in the least revolutionary, and they are calculated, on the one hand to facilitate the work of the Government, and, on the other, to afford a fair scope for the aspirations of the people in the direction of public usefulness I therefore confidently commend this Resolution to the acceptance of the Congress

The Hon'ble S Subramania Iyer (Madras) —Mr Chairman and Gentlemen—I rise with great pleasure to second the proposition just proposed to you by my Hon'ble friend Mr Telang, especially as I see that there is no need to make a speech in support of it Gentlemen, my friend has so well exhausted all that could be said on the subject and has so completey anticipated me that I really have nothing to add to what he has already told you in such elegant and convincing language, unless I mean to paraphrase to you what he has been saying and thus mar the effect of his speech He has pointed out to you the defects in the present constitution of these Councils and has indicated to you the nature of the remedy to be applied and the lines on which reformation should proceed He has sketched out to you a scheme which is perfect in its details so far as it goes and withal so feasible, that if we but succeed in getting Government to recognise it as practicable, we need not yet despair of a bright future As he has himself admitted the scheme is not put forward as a panacea for all the evils but I have no hesitation whatever in saying that it would go very far indeed to minimise the evils to a considerable degree Having said this I am almost tempted to sit down and make over the balance of my ten minutes to my friend Mr Naoroji, whom I am sure you will all be anxious to hear at some length But before I sit down I think I may say a few words which will enable you to judge to what opinion I myself incline Though my connection with the Madras Legislative Council has not been quite as long as Mr Telang's in Bombay—I have been only a year in it—I think I may fairly claim to have had sufficient experience of its working to enable me to form an opinion as to their utility I should not fail to admit however, that the actual working of these Councils is enveloped in somewhat of a mystery and to one outside it it is a puzzle how it is that the non official members are so little able to do good of any kind Naturally enough they come in for a good round of abuses I myself on many an occasion, when bad laws enacted laid the whole blame on their shoulders, and indulged in rather severe criticism of their actions It was not till I myself became a member of the Madras Council that I saw how unjustly our friends in the Council were censured in the majority of instances and what little influence they possessed in the Council either for good or for evil With the best intentions in the world, I may assure you gentlemen, they find themselves in the wrong place, and so long as the present constitution of these Councils re

main unchanged it is idle to expect that these non-official members will prove of any great use to the country. The misfortune is that these non official members are not allowed to feel any responsibility and, even if some of them assume it, no opportunity is given them to render themselves useful. I do not say this in any captious spirit and I disclaim all intention of giving any offence. Somehow or other, these local Councils have become so altered in their constitution that they have altogether lost their original character and I do not think that they now answer the purpose for which they were originally designed. Whatever may have been the intention with which these Councils were constituted at first and whatever doubts may be entertained now as to their present constitution I do not suppose there can be any doubt that they at no time possessed a representative character. For sometime past these Councils have been so worked as to render them by no means efficient even as exponents of non official opinion. If one carefully noted the successive laws that are enacted by these Councils, one would plainly see that the functions of these Councils are limited to registering the decrees of the Executive Government and stamp them with legislative sanction. I am willing to agree with Mr Telang that there is an element of usefulness in these Councils which might yet be utilized to our advantage. Admitting that, I am sceptical whether any material good will result from these Councils, so long as the present system of the Executive settling beforehand for all practical purposes in an irrevocable manner the principle of all measures that are introduced into these Councils is maintained. It appears to me that I might say without any breach of confidence, that during the short time that I have been in the Council I have not experienced any difficulty in getting my suggestions adopted if only they related to details. Every suggestion that I made was received with great consideration so long as it did not trench on the principle already determined upon by the Government. So far as that goes, I must do the Government the justice to say that they are not only anxious to hear non official opinion, but they also try to adopt it as far as possible consistent with the principle of the measure. The drawback then as I just now pointed out, is that the principles of the measures that are introduced into the Councils are previously determined by the Government behind the back of the Legislative Councils as it were and the difficulty of the non official members consists in their not being able to modify them in any manner. The difficulty lies in this and I am glad that Mr Telang has thrown light on this aspect of the question. I must concede that it may be difficult to counsel Government of the real extent of this evil and whatever difficulties there may be in convincing Government that the scheme that is now put forward is practicable I do not think that there is any difficulty in bringing home to them the necessity of reconstituting these Councils on a popular and a representative basis. I am afraid I have taken more of your time than I properly ought especially as my good friend Mr Dadabhai Naoroji, whom I feel no doubt you are all impatient to hear is to follow me. I will not therefore take any more of your time and I do not believe that, before I sit down it is necessary that I should formally commend the proposition moved by Mr Telang for your acceptance, as I do not think there can possibly be two opinions on the subject.

The Hon'ble Dadabhai Naoroji (Bombay) — I am glad my friends, the Hon'ble Mr Telang and the Hon'ble Mr S Iyer have relieved me of much trouble, as they have anticipated a deal of what I had to say, which I need not repeat

We ask for representation in the Legislative Councils of India. It is not for us to teach the English people how necessary representation is for good government We have learnt the lesson from them, and knowing from them how great a blessing it is to those nations who enjoy it, and how utterly unEnglish it is for the English nation to withhold it from us, we can, with confidence and trust, ask them to give us this I do not want to complain of the past It is past and gone It cannot be said now that the time is not come to give us representation Thanks to our rulers themselves we have now sufficiently advanced to know the value of representation and to understand the necessity that representation must go with taxation, that the taxed must have a voice in the taxation that is imposed on them We are British subjects, and I say we can demand what we are entitled to and expect at British hands as their greatest and most noble institution and heritage It is our inheritance also and we should not be kept out of it Why, if we are to be denied Britain s best institutions, what good is it to India to be under the British sway ? It will be simply another Asiatic despotism What makes us proud to be British subjects, what attaches us to this foreign rule with deeper loyalty than even our own past Native rule is the fact that Britain is the parent of free and representative Government and that we as her subjects and children are entitled to inherit the great blessing of freedom and representation We claim the inheritance. If not we are not the British subjects which the Proclamation proclaims us to be—equal in rights and privileges with the rest of her Majesty s subjects We are only British drudges or slaves Let us persevere. Britain would never *be* a slave and could not in her very nature and instinct *make* a slave Her greatest glory is freedom and representation, and as her subjects we shall have these blessed gifts

Coming to the immediate and practical part of our demand I may say that it will be to Government itself a great advantage and relief—advantage, inasmuch as it will have the help of those who know the true wants of the Natives, and in whom the Natives have confidence and relief so far that the responsibility of legislation will not be upon the head of Government only but upon that of the representatives of the people also And the people will have to blame themselves if they fail to send the right sort of men to represent themselves I think Government has now reason rather to thank than repel us for demanding this boon which, if granted will, on the one hand make government easier and more effective and on the other attach the people to British rule more deeply than before

Our first reform should be to have the power to tax ourselves With that and another reform for which I shall move hereafter India will advance in material and moral prosperity and bless and benefit England The proposal about the right of interpellation is very important,—as important and useful to Government itself as to the people The very fact, that questions will be put in the Council, will prevent in a measure that evil which at present is beyond Government's reach to redress Government will be relieved of the odium and inconvience which it at present suffers from misunderstanding and want of opportunities of giving explanation The British Parliament and public, and the British Government in all its departments benefit largely by this power of putting questions in Parliament and the same will be the result here There will be, in the circumstances of India, one essential difference between the British Parliament and the Indian Legislative Councils. In Parliament, the Government, if defeated, resigns, and

the Opposition comes into power That cannot be done in India Whether defeated or not, Government will remain in power Moreover, the Secretary of State for India will have the power to veto, and no harm can happen If the Government, either Provincial or Supreme, disregard the vote against it, and if the Secretary of State support the disregarding Government there will be, as a last remedy, the standing Committee of Parliament as the ultimate appellate body to decide on the point of disagreement, and thus Parliament will truly, and not merely nominally as at present become the final controlling authority

We are British subjects, and subjects of the same gracious sovereign who has pledged her royal word that we are to her as all her other subjects and we have a right to all British institutions If we are true to ourselves, and perseveringly ask what we desire the British people are the very people on earth who will give what is right and just From what has already been done in the past we have ample reason to indulge in this belief Let us for the future equally rely on that character and instinct of the British *They* have taught us our wants and they will supply them

Mr Venkat Subbarayadu in supporting the Resolution pointed out that the Indian Council's Act was now nearly twenty five years old and that it was time it should be amended

Mr Dayaram Jethmal said —That there was no representation of the country in these Councils in the proper sense of the word Although the Councils contained some official members who could boast of past acquaintance with certain provinces in the course of their official duties, these gentlemen were in no sense representatives of those provinces To speak of them as representatives would be as correct as to speak of Mr Maclean as a representative of the Presidency of Bombay in the British Parliament He urged the meeting to consider whether the views and wishes of the people could be represented in any sense by the official members There were several measures vitally affecting the inhabitants of vast tracts of country as to the passage of which through the Councils those inhabitants knew absolutely nothing And yet the speaker and every one could say that in respect of such measures the proceedings of the Councils showed that the people affected by them had made no objections, though the several Bills had been duly published As a matter of fact sufficient publicity was never given to the bills and proceedings of the Legislative Councils The chief defect lay in the fact that these proceedings and Bills were not published in the languages or characters or in papers which the people understood or read and were not accessible to all Take the instance of the Sind Encumbered Estates Act and the Sind Village Cess Act which had not come to the knowledge of the people of Sind until after they actually became law The few who heard or read about the former were those who were least affected by them These Acts had not the approval of the people and were being continually complained of in Sind, and yet in the Council it seemed to have been assumed that the people wanted them because though duly published, no objections to them had been received by Government! Would this happen if the provinces were represented in the Councils? If nothing else the representatives would at least inform their constituents of the introduction of measures into the Councils even if they were unable to successfully oppose their passing or bring about their passing in the form acceptable to the people

Mr K L Nulkar (Poona) said that this was the first constructive Resolution, so to speak, that the Congress would be adopting He therefore desired to know what it was proposed to do in regard to this class of Resolutions after the Congress had passed them He also thought that the Resolution might go further and ask for the right of election to the Secretary of State s Council

In reply to Mr Nulkar's question the President stated that it was intended to bring up before the Congress a formal resolution in regard to the point rais de, and that the matter could then be most properly discussed

Mr Murlidhar (Punjaub) said that previous speakers had spoken of the existing Legislative Councils as ' shams ' but in the N W Provinces and the Punjaub, even these " shams had no existence There, it is supposed that officials, not mixing with the people knowing little of their wants and wishes were nevertheless representatives of the people This will not do We must have real direct representation and then we shall be able to minimise the influence of the men who are not true representatives of the people

The Hon'ble M G Ranade remarked that the Congress ought to put forward a scheme complete in itself The provision in the proposed Resolution about differences of opinion was not enough The Secretary of State alone would be almost powerless before the War Department and the Treasury Department of the United Kingdom, and it was, therefore necessary to have something instead of his Council if that Council was to be abolished He had hoped that such a substitute would be proposed in this Resolution but he did not see any such substitute He pointed to the repeal of the Cotton Duties of the Vernacular Press Act the introduction of a Permanent Settlement of the Land Revenue into the whole empire, and the expenditure in the Military Department as instances of matters in which it was necessary to strengthen the hands of the Secretary of State by a Council well constituted After referring to Fox s and Pitt s India Bills Mr Ranade suggested for consideration the point whether it was not desirable to ask that the Council of the Secretary of State should be composed partly of elected and partly of nominated members

Mr Hume pointed out that a substitute for the India Council as regards extravagant expenditure was provided in the scheme proposed by the Resolution—in the power of interpellation and the financial power

Mr G Subrahmanya Iyer said that it would never do to trust to a Council for escaping from the settled policy of the Ministry and of Parliament. The question of the permanent settlement was a vital one in Madras Sir Louis Mallet helped Madras there, but it was the Council of the Secretary of State which was obstructive in that matter

Divan Bahadur R Raghunath Rao thought that a Council would be unnecessary only if the Secretary of State was like the Colonial Secretary but not otherwise He thought the reference to a Parliamentary Committee would expose India to the risk of government by English political parties

Mr P M Mehta thought that no doubt there were evils in both courses but on a choice of evils, he thought a substitute for the India Council unnecessary That Council is a continuously existing evil, the other would be only an occasional one As to a Parliamentary Committee [illegible] party

politics, he thought the publicity of the discussions of the Committee would be a very great advantage

Mr Norendranath Sen thought that a Standing Committee of the House of Commons would be good, if we had representatives of our own in the House As an alternative proposal there might be a small Parliament in India with many Indian members Indian political bodies should be asked to name such members and also have a voice in the formation of the existing Executive Councils

Messrs Sundara Rama and Ananda Charlu having spoken in support of the Resolution Mr Dadabhai Naoroji said

Before the Hon ble Mr Telang replies I may ask to be allowed to say a few words I may just explain what an important thing this Standing Committee will be During the East India Company's time Parliament was entirely independent of it Parliament was then truly an effective appellate body It took up Indian questions quite freely and judged fairly, without the circumstance of parties ever interfering with its deliberations If there was a complaint against the Company Parliament was free to sit in judgment on it What is the position since the transfer of the government to the Crown? The Secretary of State for India is the Parliament Every question in which he is concerned becomes a Cabinet question His majority is at his back This majority has no concern in Indian matters further than to back Government i e the Secretary of State for India All appeals, therefore to Parliament against the Secretary of State become a mere farce. M P s are utterly discouraged from their inability to do anything And the Secretary of State becomes the true Great Mogul of India—a despotic monarch His will is his law Nor can the people of India influence him as their voice is not represented in Parliament Th is that tribunal can scarcely exercise any effectual check over his despotism The present legislative machinery from the Local Councils upwards is simply a device to legalise despotism and give it the false mask of constitutionalism The tax payers have no voice in the imposition of the taxes they pay and Parliament has not the ability to prevent the levy of unfair or oppressive taxation The ultimate controlling authority seems helpless to control anything! Now if we have complete representative legislation here, and if we have a Standing Committee in Parliament we shall have both the voice of the taxed on the one side and effectual control of Parliament on the other Such a Standing Committee will naturally be independent of all parties. Its decision will be no defeat of Government It will be simply a final decision on the point of difference that may have arisen between the representatives of the people in India on the one hand and the Government on the other on any particular question India will thus have an effectual parliamentary control

It is said we should propose something as a substitute for the present India Office Council The resolution now before the Congress makes this unnecessary The Council, when it was established was considered to be protective of Indian interests It has not proved so When it suits the Secretary of State he screens himself behind that Council When it does not suit him he flings the Council aside We have no means of knowing what good at all is done by the Council Its irresponsibility and its secrecy are fatal objections to its continuance Such a thing in the government of an empire of 200 millions of people and under the British is an utter and an inexplicable anachronism Moreover,

the majority of the Council consists of Anglo Indians These, sitting in judgment on their own handiwork, naturally regard it as perfect Having left India years ago they fail to realise the rapid changes that are taking place here in our circumstances, lose touch with us and offer resistance to all progress Times are now changed The natives, I may say, have come of age They can represent directly their wishes and views to the Government here, and to the Secretary of State They do not require the aid of this Council at the India Office for their so called representation or protection

I may here remark, that the chief work of this the first National Congress of India is to enunciate clearly and boldly our highest and ultimate wishes Whether we get them or not immediately, let our rulers know what our highest aspirations are And if we are true to ourselves, the work of each delegate present here will be to make the part of India where he happens to live devote itself earnestly to carrying out the objects resolved upon at this Congress with all due deliberation If, then, we lay down clearly that we desire to have the actual government of India transferred from England to India under the simple controlling power of the Secretary of State and of Parliament, through its Standing Committee, and that we further desire that all taxation and legislation shall be imposed here by representative Councils we say what we are aiming at And that under such an arrangement no Council to advise the Secretary of State is necessary Neither is a Council needed to attend to the appellate executive work There is a permanent Under Secretary of State who will be able to keep up continuity of knowledge and transact all current business There are, besides, Secretaries at the head of the different departments as experts I do not deny that at times the India Office Council has done good service But this was owing to the personality and sympathy of individual—men like Sir E Perry. The constitution of the body as a body is objectionable and anomalous When the whole power of imposing taxation and legislation is transferred here, the work of the Secretary of State will be largely diminished It will only be confined to general supervision of important matters Whatever comes before him for disposal will be set forth by the Government from here fully and fairly in all its bearings No Council will be needed to aid him in forming his judgment Thus no substitute is required for the India Office Council It is enough for us to formulate the scheme, now submitted for your consideration, as one which India needs and desires, viz, representative Legislative Councils in India, with full financial control and interpellatory powers And we shall not need to trouble much the authorities in England.

The President here observed that as it was arranged that the members should visit the Elephanta caves in the course of the afternoon he would postpone the Congress till 10 A M of the following day

The Congress accordingly adjourned

# PROCEEDINGS

## OF THE

## 3rd Day, 30th December, 1885.

The Hon'ble K T. Telang —I should like to say a few words in reply to the criticisms that have been made in this debate I am glad that those criticisms have been made because it enables me to offer some explanations which will probably be even more necessary for outsiders than for those who have assembled here The first and most important point to deal with is that the Resolution now before the Congress does not provide as it was expected to provide some substitute for the India Council—which I should prefer to call by an apter title, the Council of the Secretary of State for India I am afraid I must take some blame to myself for not having made this point clear in my opening remarks And as I did not do this then I must dwell on the point now somewhat more fully than I had thought would be necessary Well, in my view, then, the centre of the practical work of Indian administration should be shifted from London to India That it seems to me is a most urgently wanted reform It ought not to be necessary in matters of practical administration to appeal against well informed local officers on the spot to what has been not inappropriately designated a conclave of effete officers" hundreds of miles away This being my view I am not prepared to accept one of the suggestions thrown out by our friend Mr Norendranath, that we should work for representation of our country in Parliament I do not think that that ought to be the goal towards which we should work What I prefer is that we should have a properly and liberally framed constitution affording due scope for local knowledge and capacity under a general supervision in matters involving important general principles vested in the great authority which governs the whole empire namely, the Imperial Parliament. This object appears to me to be served by the constitution proposed in this resolution for representative Councils in the country supplemented by the Standing Committee of the House of Commons. Such bodies will also serve the purpose which some of the speakers in the debate have in view If we want, as we do want the hands of the Secretary of State to be strengthened against the unfair demands of the English departments of War &c it seems to me obvious that such strength will be better and more effectively supplied by such Councils as are here proposed than by any substitute that we could devise for the present constitution of the India Council On the one hand, these Councils being representative, and presumably well informed in consequence of the councillors being themselves able personally to examine the matter to be adjudicated on will necessarily have great weight attached to their opinions And, on the other hand there will be great difficulties in carrying out the only proposed modification in the constitution of the India Council, namely, making it a partly representative body In the first place we shall not always be

able to secure the services of our best men for working upon a Council sitting in London In the second place if we did secure them, they would be very far removed from the field of actual administrative work and also from that influence of public opinion to which they must always be open if they are to give the fullest satisfaction in the performance of their high trusts Thirdly, an individual member or even more than one individual member of such a Council sitting in London will be quite unable to make his influence felt in all departments of administration For, I believe in the India Council there is specialization of functions and work in the same way as we know there is in the Executive Councils in the country Therefore my scheme is that the India Council should go and leave not a wrack behind while the useful portion of work which it is supposed to discharge ought to be performed by the proposed Councils in India It will thus be seen that our scheme is not a merely destructive one We propose a substitute and what I venture to think will be a very good substitute for that which we recommened for abolition

And having said this let me now ask whether this India Council as it has existed—this Council the abolition of which we are asked to be so cautious in recommending—whether it has done any real good during the period for which it has already existed In the first place most of its deliberations and acts are done in secret conclave—in itself according to my humble judgment a strong reason for condemnation in such a case as this The result is that its work whether for good or for evil is not easy to survey and judge But portions of it necessarily see the light from time to time and we may form some sort of provisional opinion from these materials My friends Mr Chiplonkar and Mr G Subrahmanya Iyer, have told us of one or two items of this work That referred to by the latter may be examined in the pages of the Famine Commission's Report And there can be no doubt that in several of these matters the India Council has fairly earned the epithet which has recently been bestowed upon it, and which has if I may so say, become almost classical in Bombay—namely 'abominably obstructive But then some specific matters have been brought forward in favour of the Council As regards the permanent settlement of the land revenue whatever the Council may or may not have done it has certainly failed to give that to those Provinces which have been asking for it As to the cotton duties again what influence has the India Council had on actual administrative measures? The duties *have* been abolished in supposed obedience to a resolution of the House of Commons which was contingent on the fulfilment of conditions that we all know were not satisfied—and the Council has been impotent to prevent the abolition As to the Vernacular Press Act the Act was passed and *not* vetoed by the Secretary of State It was the law of the land until, *not* the India Council but Lord Ripon s Council repealed it There were doubtless some most vigorous and excellent protests by the late Sir Erskine Perry and other members of the India Council against that precious piece of legislation But then those protests in actual fact went for nothing, and furthermore you cannot count upon the presence of more than one Sir Erskine Perry in the Council or even one Sir Erskine Perry always and continuously Lastly, as to war expenditure if the India Council has said anything about it it has certainly not succeeded in doing anything at all Therefore upon the whole, I must say that in my opinion the matters brought forward in favour of the India Council show nothing more than this if they show so much that in that Council you have now

and then had members who have fought our battles valiantly and well, as valiantly and as well—I will add if you like—as probably any elected representative of ours would have done But this does not really afford any argument in favour of the system which is vicious in itself, and which in actual working has failed to influence the administration for good

There is one other objection which I must now advert to It is said that to trust to a Parliamentary Committee in the last resort as is here proposed is to throw Indian affairs into the party politics of England I beg to say, in reference to this objection, that in the first place I am not very much afraid of the result at all events in this particular matter—because the points which will be sent up before the Parliamentary Committee must be points relating to general principles of Government But I go further, and I say that the intervention of Parliament in our affairs asked for by the present Resolution will not throw us more into English party strife than we are already under present circumstances Parliament is now our final tribunal and now governs all our affairs in the last resort And a Standing Committee of Parliament such as we propose is really and truly the same tribunal We are not asking for any very serious innovation in this respect

Upon all these grounds Sir I recommend the Congress to pass the Resolution as it now stands It seems to me to be not open to the objections made, to be free from the particular defects and imperfections pointed out, to constitute really a step and an important step in the direction of progress, while at the same time it is by no means revolutionary and involves no risk whatever

The President in summing up the debate said that it was not necessary for the Congress to frame a complete scheme He thought their function was to state and record what improvements were in their opinion desirable and having done that to leave to the authorities the duty of formulating a scheme The argument in favour of the Council seemed to him weak It might as well be argued that the whole of the Indian system of administration should be preserved intact because such gentlemen as Wordsworth Hume and Wedderburn held office under that system The Council of India was from the beginning a sham Passing on to another point the President said it was not at all unreasonable to look forward to a time when in the Government of India there should be Ministries and changes of Ministries as in the Colonies This is not of course provided for just now but it is not inconsistent with what is asked for As regards the Supreme Council, that the President said ought to be representative of the whole country and of every great province in it Every member will thus be able to understand what is going on in all the provinces of the Empire and they will be able to compare notes with great advantage to themselves and to the whole country

The Resolution was then put and carried unanimously

The President introduced Mr N G Chandavarkar one of the Indian Delegates to England who had on the preceding day returned to Bombay.

The Congress thereupon passed by acclamation a vote of thanks to Mr Chandavarkar and the other Delegates for the valuable services they rendered to the country during their stay in England

Mr Chandavarkar in acknowledging gratefully on behalf of himself and his colleagues the vote of thanks passed by the Congress said that while in England he had taken the opportunity of calling on Lord and Lady Ripon, and

explaining what the Delegates had done. Lord Ripon said, 'tell your countrymen not to despair If the friends of your country have been defeated at the elections, they have not been defeated on any Indian question but on the Church and Irish question "

The resolution was then put to the vote and carried unanimously

The Hon'ble Dadabhai Naoroji in moving the 4th Resolution said — The Resolution which I am proposing does not in any way involve the question whether the distinction between the covenanted and uncovenanted services should be abolished or not That is a separate question altogether, and in fact if my resolution is adopted that question will become unnecessary or very subordinate The resolution which I propose to you is of the utmost possible importance to India It is the most important key to our material and moral advancement All our other political reforms will benefit us but very little indeed if this reform of all reforms is not made It is the question of poverty or prosperity It is the question of life and death to India It is the question of questions Fortunately it is not necessary for me on this occasion to go into all its merits as I hope you are all already well aware of my views and their reasons, or it would have been very difficult for me to lay before you all I should have had to say without speaking for hours There is an additional good fortune for me that what I want to propose was already proposed a quarter of a century ago by no less an authority than a Committee of the India Office itself The report of this Committee gives the whole matter in a nutshell from the point of view of justice, right, expediency and honest fulfilment of promises And the reasons given by it for the covenanted civil service apply equally to all the other services in the civil department I do not refer to the military service in this resolution, as that is a matter requiring special consideration and treatment To make my remarks as brief as possible as we are much pressed for time I shall first at once read to you the extract from the report of the Committee consisting of Sir J P Willoughby Mr Mangles Mr Arbuthnot, Mr Macnaughten, and Sir Erskine Perry The report dated 20th January 1860, says —

2 We are in the first place unanimously of opinion that it is not only just but expedient that the natives of India shall be employed in the administration of India to as large an extent as possible, consistently with the maintenance of British supremacy and have considered whether any increased facilities can be given in this direction

3 It is true that even at present no positive disqualification exists By Act 3 and 4 Wm 4 C 85 s 87 it is enacted ' that no Native of the said territories nor any natural born subject of His Majesty resident therein, shall, by reason only of his religion place of birth, descent colour or any of them, be disabled from holding any place, office or employment under the said Company ' It is obvious therefore that when the competitive system was adopted it could not have been intended to exclude Natives of India from the Civil Service of India

" 4 Practically, however they are excluded The law declares them eligible, but the difficulties opposed to a Native leaving India and residing in England for a time are so great that as a general rule, it is almost impossible for a Native successfully to compete at the periodical examinations held in England Were this inequality removed we should no longer be exposed to the charge of keeping promise to the ear and breaking it to the hope

"5 Two modes have been suggested by which the object in view might be attained. The first is by allotting a certain portion of the total number of appointments declared in each year to be competed for in India by Natives and by other natural born subjects of Her Majesty's residents in India The second is, to hold simultaneously two examinations, one in England and one in India, both being, as far as practicable, identical in their nature and those who compete in both countries being finally classified in one list according to merit by the Civil Service Commissioners The Committee have no hesitation in giving the preference to the second scheme, as being the fairest, and the most in accordance with the principles of a general competition for a common object"

Now according to strict right and justice the examination for services in India ought to take place in India alone The people of Australia, Canada and the Cape do not go to England for their services Why should Indians be compelled to go to England to compete for the services, unless it be England's despotic will But I am content to propose the resolution according to the views of the Committee for simultaneous examinations both in England and India, and the reasons that apply to the Civil Service apply equally well to the other services in the Civil Department viz, Engineering Medical Telegraph, Forest, and so on

I may here remind you that in addition to the Act of 1833 referred to by the Committee we have the solemn promises contained in the Proclamation of our gracious Sovereign The fact is told to us in unmistakable language —' We hold ourselves bound to the Natives of our Indian territories by the same obligations of duty which bind us to all our other subjects and those obligations, by the blessing of Almighty God, we shall faithfully and conscientiously fulfil' And then they declared her gracious promise specifically on this very part of the services —" And it is our further will that, so far as may be our subjects, of whatever race or creed, be freely and impartially admitted to offices in our service, the duties of which they may be qualified, by their education ability and integrity, duly to discharge." This gracious proclamation and the promises contained therein were made known in 1858 And the India Office Committee showed, in 1860, in what way these promises could be fulfilled, so as to relieve the English nation from "the charge of keeping promise to the ear and breaking it to the hope' With the Act of Parliament of 1833, the solemn promises of 1858 of our Sovereign before God and man, and the declaration by the India Office of the mode of fulfilling those promises in 1860, it is hardly necessary for me to say more Our case for the resolution proposed by me is complete As a matter of justice seolemn promises and even expediency I would have ended my speech here, but my object in proposing this resolution rests upon a far higher and a most important consideration The question of the extreme poverty of India is now no more a controversial point Viceroys and Finance Ministers have admitted it The last official declaration by Sir E Baring is complete and unequivocal In his budget speech of 18th March 1882 he said —' It has been calculated that the average income per head of population in India is not more than Rs 27 a year, and though I am not prepared to pledge myself to the absolute accuracy of a calculation of this sort, it is sufficiently accurate to justify the conclusion that the taxpaying community is exceedingly poor To derive any very large increase of revenue from so poor a population as this is obviously impossible, and, if it were possible, would be unjustifiable' Again, in the discussion on the budget, after repeating the

above statement regarding the income of Rs 27 per head per annum, he said — ' But he thought it was quite sufficient to show the extreme poverty of the mass of the people In England the average income per head of population was £33 per head, in France it was £23, in Turkey, which was the poorest country in Europe it was £4 per head He would ask Honorable members to think what Rs 27 per annum was to support a person and then he would ask whether a few annas was nothing to such poor people " With this emphatic and clear opinion before you I need not say more The question is what is the cause of this poverty? I have shown in my papers on the poverty of India, and in my correspondence with the Secretary of State for India, that the sole cause of this extreme poverty and wretchedness of the mass of the people is the inordinate employment of foreign agency in the government of the country and the consequent material loss to and drain from the country I request those who have not already seen these papers to read them for it is utterly impossible for me to go through the whole argument here It will be therefore, now clear to you that the employment of Native agency is not merely a matter of justice and expediency, according to the views of the India Office Committee but a most absolute necessity for the poor suffering and starving millions of India It is a question of life and death to the country The present English rule is no doubt the greatest blessing India has ever had but this *one evil* of it nullifies completely all the good it has achieved Remove but this one evil and India will be blessed in every way and will be a blessing to England also in every way The commerce between England and India will increase so that England will then be able to benefit herself ten times more by India's prosperity than what she does now There will be none of the constant struggle that is at present to be witnessed between the rulers and the ruled—the one screwing out more and more taxes like squeezing a squeezed orange—inflicting suffering and distress, and the other always crying itself hoarse about its inability to provide them owing to extreme poverty By the removal of the evil—India will be able not merely to supply a revenue £70 000 000, but £170 000 000 with ease and comfort England takes over 50 shillings a head for her revenue why may not India under the same rule be able to take even 20s a head? Indians would easily pay £200 000 00 I should stop now I hope you will see that this resolution is of the greatest possible importance to India and I implore every one of you present here to day to strain every nerve and work perseveringly in your respective localities to attain this object With regard to the second part of the resolution, the uncovenanted services the same reasoning and necessity apply A fair system of competition testing all necessary qualifications—mental moral and physical—will be the most suitable mode of supplying the services with the best and most eligible servants and relieve Government of all the pressure of back door and private influences and jobbery

The subject of the age of candidates for the Civil Service examination needs no lengthened remarks from me It has been only lately threshed out and it has been established beyond all doubt that the higher age will give a superior class of men whether English or native I conclude, therefore with the earnest exhortation that you will all apply yourselves vigorously to free poor India from the great evil of the drain on her resources

If the British will once understand our true condition their conscientious desire to rule India for India's and humanity's good, will never allow the evil

to continue any longer. Lastly, I hope and trust that our rulers will receive our representations in their proper spirit. We sincerely believe that the good we propose for ourselves is also a good for them. Whatever good they will do to us cannot but in the very nature of things be good to them also. The better we are in material and moral prosperity the more grateful, attached and loyal we shall be, the worse we are the less our gratitude and loyalty shall naturally be. The more prosperous we are, the larger shall be their custom, the worse we are the condition will be the reverse. The question of our prosperity is as much the question of the prosperity of England and her working man. England's trade would be enriched by £250,000,000, if with our prosperity each unit of the Indian population is ever able to buy from England goods worth only £1 per annum.

What is wanted is the fructification in our own pocket of our annual produce. I repeat that it is my hope and trust that our rulers may receive our prayers in their right spirit and do us all the good in their power, for it will redound to their good name, honour and everlasting glory. Let us have the Royal Proclamation fulfilled in its true spirit and integrity, and both England and India will be benefitted and blessed.

With these observations I beg to propose the Fourth Resolution —

"That in the opinion of the Congress the competitive examinations now held in England, for first appointments in various Civil departments of the public service, should henceforth, in accordance with the views of the India Office Committee of 1860, 'be held simultaneously, one in England and one in India, both being as far as practicable identical in their nature, and those who compete in both countries being finally classified in one list according to merit,' and that the successful candidates in India should be sent to England for further study and subjected there to such further examinations as may seem needful. Further, that all other first appointments (excluding peonships and the like) should be filled by competitive examinations held in India under conditions calculated to secure such intellectual, moral, and physical qualifications as may be decided by Government to be necessary. Lastly, that the maximum age of candidates for entrance into the Covenanted Civil Service be raised to not less than 23 years."

M. Vira Raghavachariar (Madras) seconded the resolution in the following speech

Mr President and gentlemen —

In rising to second the proposition so well explained by our veteran statesman, Mr Dadabhai Naoroji, I have to make a few observations. Individually, gentlemen, my opinion about this question is, that the distinction between the Covenanted Civil Service and Uncovenanted Civil Service must be done away with, and Native gentlemen, of approved ability and integrity, found in the Uncovenanted department, should be drawn into the ranks of the former. My reasons for the abolition of that service are numerous. Firstly, such a coveted service is no longer required. Education has made considerable progress in this country and the character of educated Natives for integrity and honesty of purpose is established beyond all doubt. Secondly, you must all admit that the members of that service are over paid and over rated. The scale of their pay was fixed at a time when the patronage as regards those appointments was in the hands of the Directors of the East India Company and those gentlemen had to

provide for their sons, cousins, and dependents It was also the general impression of men in England, then, that India was the land of pagodas and mohurs Circumstances have changed now and we see no reason why we should continue to get men for that service from England at such an enormous cost Now, again, let us see whether they are not overrated The work that they do is not of a high order, most of it is trivial and even this they perform negligently and inefficiently The Collectors are, in fact, respectable Head Clerks and the Assistants are in training for that respectable position Is it right I ask, gentlemen, that Collectors should be paid 2 500 Rupees a month for uprooting prickly pear and for harl unlike criticism of subordinate Magistrates' returns ? Again, I ask gentlemen, is it fair that Assistants should get about Rs 1,000 for going about the country in tents ? You know gentlemen that that service to maintain which the life blood of the nation is sucked has degenerated Many Anglo Indians have admitted this fact Who will venture to gainsay my statement that the Civil Service has degenerated when we see that the service which has produced a Hume a Wedderburn and a Cotton, now holds among its ranks Macleans Landmans, and Atkinsons and Machiavellies? Gentlemen the fact is that we are now getting men of inferior order from England The men we get are mere boys distinguished for their mental rawness and immaturity of character They are generally minutely instructed rather than highly educated The nobility of England does not care to take office in India But, gentlemen Mr Dadabhai has said that that service should be retained at least for some time to come and we must all yield to his wiser counsels The proposition moved by my honourable friend, is so modest and reasonable that I am sure it will command the attention of the British public By demanding these reforms gentlemen we must all bear in mind that we are clamouring for no special indulgence We condemn the existing rules that are so framed as to secure all advantages to English competitors and to throw considerable impediments and difficulties in the way of competitors from India While professing to treat all competitors with impartiality, the rules are so framed as to practically shut out the children of the soil from competition We say, let these inequalities be removed let Natives and Englishmen be allowed to compete on equal terms If it be remembered that our youths join an English school and begin the English alphabet when they are eight or nine years old, that on an average they spend about six years in acquiring the English language, that it is about their fifteenth year that they begin to construe English books for themselves and that it is after that that they can devote their time to the study of English literature history science philosophy, will it be considered unreasonable, gentlemen if we demand that our youths should be permitted to compete for the examination upto the age of 23 ? If again, it be remembered that under existing rules our youths are compelled to quit these shores at a very early age to go to England and put themselves under tuition of somebody for a year or two, will it be considered unreasonable if we demand that the examinations should be held in some Indian centres simultaneously with the examinations in London? Again, gentlemen, as for numerous other appointments in the Salt, Forest, and other departments, supposed to be reserved exclusively for the Natives of this country, I need not tell you that the relations of influential members of the Civil Service are put in I hold in my hand a list of such appointments in the Presidency of Madras, and you will see from it that only three Natives hold employments in

the Settlement Department The truth of the whole matter is that at the cost of Indian money English youths are fed clothed and patted, to the detriment of the interests of the Natives These facts have been repeatedly brought to the notice of the Secretary of State and Parliament by several philanthropists in England and India, and now the voice of the nation loudly demands a reform It remains to be seen how long the authorities will choose to walk in the old way Though our demands may be put off for a short time they cannot be indefinitely postponed The progress of education throughout the different provinces of the Indian Empire is so great and the facilities for intercommunication so various, that we, who were hitherto strangers to each other as the Sikhs the Mahrattas the Bengalees and the Madrasees, consider ourselves as one people with the same grievances and with the same aspirations We now begin to percieve that notwithstanding the existence of differences in our mother tongue, social habits and manners we possess the true elements of a nationality about us, we possess the talent for organization, and we possess too many things in common to permit of our living apart for ever as strangers Is it not time for us now to sink our minor differences and concentrate our forces for the attainment of grand national objects? With these observations I heartily second the proposition so ably moved by our illustrious countryman Mr Dadabhai Naoroji

Mr D S White (Madras) —I do not rise to oppose the Hon Mr Dadabhai Naoroji's Resolution, nor to propose an amendment I desire merely to submit some observations which I think the members of this Congress should hear and take into serious consideration The proposition contemplates an application for raising the competitive age in England of candidates for the Civil Service and for holding examinations simultaneously in India On both points I differ I do not think the remedy is in raising age but in procuring the gradual abolition of the Civil Service What we need I think is that the future importation of boys should be put a stop to The real education of these boys takes place in India and the State is put to enormous expense in connection therewith, while there is no need for the expenditure The State now has at hand indigenous talent educated at its own expense either locally or in England, and should take advantage of it and if it requires special talent from England it may import it just as men ready made are imported for the Educational Department For the Judicial Service, the Bar in India offers itself and why boy Civilians should be paid for years to learn to become Judges is a matter not easily understood I do not think that any one in India would grudge paying for anything which would add to the stock of knowledge in it and therefore it seems to me that the competitive system should be abolished and that men of eminence and skill alone, in any profession should be brought out on limited covenants On the same or rather stronger grounds I do not approve of holding examinations in India All that we will get will be boys again boys to be trained at the expense of the State boys whose views of life will be limited to Indian experience Either from England or India we want men of experience and established reputation and it is by such men that the New India will be moulded to higher and better things I must not be understood as desiring that existing appointments should be interfered with but only as enunciating the view that the present system should gradually die out and give place to a better one I do not approve of the Resolution for another reason I have always maintained that the present law and the orders

of the Secretary of State give us as much as we want, and I think it will be more profitable if we try to secure what is ours instead of raising fresh issues, the determination of which none of us perhaps will live to see The age and local examination questions involve fresh legislation and the extinction of that which exists While therefore we are waiting for the fresh legislation we shall lose what we have Fifteen years have elapsed and the Statute of 33 Victoria Chapter III is still being violated, that is fifteen years have not proved sufficient for the mere carrying out of a well defined piece of legislation What will be the time needed for fresh legislation and for securing honest compliance with it? In the recent Blue Book, Lord Kimberley on the very points I am referring to says that the Statutory Civil Service was expressly designed to remedy any disadvantages arising out of the age restriction in England and that before Parliament is again resorted to, the remedy already prescribed should be thoroughly exhausted It is our primary duty therefore to press for the enforcement of the boons already granted to us The Statute 33 Victoria Chapter III has never had a chance, and it cannot be condemned as bad law when it has never been tried I will go very lightly over the ground to show how disappointment after disappointment was caused to the Natives of India The Act distinctly said that Natives of India of proved merit and ability were to be selected as Statutory Civilians This was an admirable measure and a wiser one could not possibly have been provided If carried out it would have rewarded the best men, secured them for the higher administration of the country and acted as the most powerful lever for training subordinates into officials of the highest character But respect for vested interests and prejudices prevailed The word 'proved' was thrust out for 'approved in the rules framed, and any one '*approved*, though not of proved merit and ability, was appointed The nominations of *approved* persons turned out most unfortunate as they were bound to do and on a protest to the Secretary of State an examination of candidates was ordered At last however the Act has some chance of being carried out honestly for a person of proved merit and ability has been appointed in Madras But even in this case the Statutory Civilian has been compelled to go into one of the lowest grades the object apparently being that no Statutory Civilian should have influence or power for the space of 15 or 20 years If the Hon'ble gentleman s proposition is carried I wish it to be understood that I do not object to it I have merely taken the opportunity of expressing my views which have been arrived at after a very long and careful consideration

During the progress of this Conference the necessity for union among all Natives of India for the purpose of securing their common rights and privileges has been much pressed on our attention My own belief is that without such union we will never accomplish what we desire I am willing to do my best, but I trust this Congress will help me by giving some assurance that it is serious in desiring unity I have just come from a Conference of the Eurasian and Anglo Indian Associations held at Jubbulpore It was decided by the Delegates that a memorial be sent to the Viceroy, praying that on the next occasion a Eurasian or Anglo Indian Native of India be appointed to the Statutory Civil Service I shall be delighted to know that this Conference is prepared to ask the bodies it is associated with to support such a memorial (Loud Applause)

Mr Girijabhusan Mookerjee (Bengal) in rising to support the Resolution said —It was unnecessary that he should speak at any length, even if he

were permitted to do so, upon a subject which had engaged the attention of the country for some years and with regard to which the country had pretty emphatically expressed its opinion They were asked simply to record the unanimous opinion of the country on the subject The government of the country was practically in the hands of the Civil Service and the exclusion of the Natives from that Service meant their practical exclusion from the administration of their own country. Then again, from a long employment of the monopoly of power, privilege and prestige these Civilian rulers here had become, if his Bombay friends would permit him to borrow an expression from them, 'abominably obstructive', in the way of national progress That being so if they could secure for their countrymen additional facilities to enter the service they would not only succeed in obtaining a larger and fairer share in the administration of their own country, but would also succeed in materially weakening the force of that obstructive opposition which was so heavily felt now They would not only do this, they would do something else They would succeed in removing a stain from the honour of England For although the principle that the Natives like the Europeans were eligible to all posts without distinction of race creed or colour had been affirmed in successive Acts of Parliament since 1833, although this principle had been reiterated in the Royal Proclamation although for half a century the Crown as well as the people of England had been pledged to this just and liberal policy, the position of their countrymen with regard to the Civil Service had not materially altered The rule of holding examinations in England the reduction of marks assigned to oriental classics and the reduction of the maximum age for competition had practically put competition out of their reach Lord Monteagle in the debates in the House of Lords in 1853 when the renewal of the Charter was under the consideration of Lord Aberdeen's Government, truly observed, that "if the only door of admission to the Civil Service of India is a competitive examination carried on in London what chance or what possibility is there of Natives of India acquiring that fair share in the administration of their own country which their education and abilities would enable them to fulfil, and therefore entitle them to possess " They all know how the observations of Lord Monteagle had been verified by subsequent experience It was unnecessary that he should dilate upon these almost insurmountable difficulties for they all felt them But he regretted with his countrymen that these difficulties had been created with the deliberate object of keeping them out of the Civil Service This was no doubt a serious charge against an enlightened Government and an enlightened people and he would be the last person to bring this charge if he were not armed with unimpeachable evidence to support it To convict an accused person what better evidence could the jury expect than the confession of the culprit himself Here they had the confession of Government by the mouth of its executive head one who was certainly not over friendly towards the Natives of this country Need he mention the name—Lord Lytton The speaker then read the following extracts from a confidential minute of Lord Lytton's —

"The Act of Parliament is so undefined and indefinite obligations on the part of the Government of India towards its Native subjects are so obviously dangerous that no sooner was the Act passed than the Government began to devise means for practically evading the fulfilment of it Under the terms of the Act which are studied and laid to heart by that increasing class of educated Natives whose development the Government encourages, without being able to

satisfy the aspirations of its existing members, every such Native, if once admitted to Government employment in posts previously reserved to the Covenanted Service, is entitled to expect and claim appointment in the fair course of promotion to the highest posts in that service We all know that these claims and expectations never can, or will be fulfilled We have had to choose between prohibiting them and cheating them and we have chosen the least straightforward course The application to Natives of the competitive examination system as conducted in England and the recent reduction in the age at which candidates can compete are all so many deliberate and transparent subterfuges for stultifying the Act and reducing it to a dead letter Since I am writing confidentially I do not hesitate to say that both the Governments of England and of India appear to me up to the present moment unable to answer satisfactorily the charge of having taken every means in their power of breaking to the heart the words of promise they had uttered to the ear

The speaker then went on and said no language could be plainer or stronger than this Would the English people allow such ugly charges to be brought against them simply because the Civilian bureaucracy here as well as at the India Office had taken upon themselves to question the wisdom of the Imperial Legislature, and to think that the stability and maintenance of the British rule required the exclusion of the Natives from the higher administrative posts He would not waste time in exposing the unsoundness of these views They had yet to learn that a generous and liberal policy of trust and confidence in a subject race ever endangered the maintenance of a foreign rule The teachings of history had always pointed to a different conclusion The events which took place in the different parts of this vast empire on the eve of Lord Ripon s departure from India amply showed how a liberal policy could evoke the loyalty of a conquered people Amidst a conquered population alien in race and religion and largely exceeding the number of their conquerors with education spreading fast and wide among them with a public opinion ever growing stronger and with powers of organisation rapidly developing, if there was any danger to a foreign rule it must proceed not from a liberal policy founded on natural justice and expediency but from a policy of repression and exclusion founded on narrow prejudice and unmerited distrust The speaker then pointed out that their claims to extended employment in the higher service were not only based upon the ground of national justice to the people but upon the ground of the plainest political expediency Economy also required it If goods were available in their own market why should they poor as they were go to a foreign country and pay a much higher price for imported goods Then again the high salaries and pensions enjoyed by their Civilian rulers were mostly spent out of the country The experience bought at such a high price was not also retained in the country for its future use but was shipped out of the country and pretty often employed against its interest

What justice the Indians to the honour of the English people loudly demanded what expediency plainly required what economy distinctly sanctioned should they not have that simply because Lord Kimberley, evidently under some evil influence said no to the earnest prayers of the united people of India and to the wise recommendation of the Government of India No they ought not to despair They had ample confidence in the justice of the English people They must agitate and earnestly and perseveringly agitate till they got what they want

ed I t them not simply pass this resolution but let them resolve further that they should not rest satisfied till they got all that they wanted

The Hon'ble Dadabhai Naoroji —I am glad I have not much to reply to The appreciation of the importance of the resolution is clear My remarks will be more as explanations of a few matters I had much to do with the passing of the clause for granting to us the Statutory Civil Service It is an important concession, and we have to be very grateful for it. I need not here go into its history The statesmen in England who gave us this were sincere and expl cit in the matter Whatever com plaint we have it is with the authorities here First of all after the clause was passed, the Government of India entirely ignored it and did nothing to give it effect for 6 years! It was only when pressure was applied to it from England, into the details of which this is not the time or place for me to enter that the necessary rules were at last prepared and published These rules have been so drafted that they may be carried out in a way to bring discredit on the Service And whether this is done intentionally or not whether the subsequent objectionable action upon it was also intentional or not, I cannot say But the most important element in the carrying out of this clause was partially or wholly ignored, and that has been the real cause of its so called failure —I mean educational competence ascertained either by suitable competition or proved ability, was an absolutely indispensible condition for admitting candidates to this Service It is just this essential condition that has been several times ignored or forgotten Let therefore your efforts be devoted strenuously, not against the clause itself but against the objectionable mode in which the nominations are made The Bengal Government has moved in a satisfactory direction and its example should be followed by all the Governments It will be the height of folly on our part to wish for the abolition of this Statutory civil service— excepting only when simultaneous examinations are held in England and India giving a fair field to all, as proposed in the present resolution In this fair competition Eurasians, or domiciled Englishmen in fact all subjects of Her Imperial Majesty, will have equal justice I understand that the Eurasians and domiciled Anglo Indians came under the definition of what is called statutory Natives ' It is only right that those whose country is India should be considered as Natives and should enjoy all the rights and privileges of Natives Unit ed ac ion between the Natives and Eurasians and domiciled Anglo Indians will be good for all What is objectionable is that Eurasians and domiciled Anglo Indians blow hot and cold at the same time At one moment they claim to be Natives and at another they spurn the Natives and claim to be Englishmen! Common sense must tell them that this is an absurd position to take up and must ultimately do them more harm than good I desire that there should be cordial union betw en all whose country is or who make their country India One of the speakers remarked that the employment of Natives will be economical This is a point which I am afraid is not clearly understood The fact is that the employment of a Native is not only economy but *complete gain* to the whole extent of his salary When a European is employed he displaces a Native whom nature intended to fill the place The Native coming in his place, is natural Every pie he eats is therefore a gain to the country and every pie he saves is so much saved to the country for the use of all its children Every pie paid to a foreigner is *a complete material loss* to the country Every pie paid to a Native is a *complete material saving* to the country In fact, as I have already endeavour

-ed to impress upon you as earnestly as possible, it is the whole question of the poverty or prosperity of the country We should of course pay a reasonable price for English rule, so that we may have the highest power of control and supervision in English hands but beyond that is simply ruin to India and not such a benefit to England as she would otherwise have, were India a prosperous country Our friend there expressed some doubt about the necessity of going to England I say without the least hesitation that the candidate himself as well as the service will be vastly benefitted by a visit to England The atmosphere of freedom and high civilization which he will breathe will make him an altered man—in character, in intelligence, in experience in self respect and in appreciation of due respect for others In short he will largely increase his fitness and command more respect in his responsible service I mean of course, in the resolution that the expenses of such visits to England by the candidates who have successfully passed the different examinations for the different services in India should be paid from the public revenue It may be made clear in the resolution, by adding 'at the public expense"

I conclude with my most anxious and earnest exhortation to this Congress and to every individual member of it, that they should perseveringly strain every nerve to secure the all important object of this resolution as early as possible Once this foreign drain, this "bleeding to death" is stopped India will be capable by reason of its land labour and its vast resources to become as prosperous as England, with benefit to England also and to mankind and with eternal glory to the English name and nation

Mr M P Modi (Surat) inquired with reference to the proposition put by Mr Dadabhai Naoroji regarding the Indian Civil Service and other Services whether that part of the proposition which said that after passing the examinations in India the successful candidates should be made to spend two years in England applied to all Services He said all could see the desirableness of those who wanted to enter the Civil Service and return administrators of this country being made to spend that time in England. But if that requirement was extended to other Services such as Medical and Engineering the speaker wished to know what necessity there was for that.

Mr Dadabhai said that the words were intended to apply to the 'Civil Service only

Mr G Subrahmanya asked whether Lord Kimberley's last Despatch should not be specifically referred to

The President pointed out that the last clause of the proposed Resolution was in truth a reply to that Despatch In putting the proposition to the vote the President said that there was a little difficulty about recommending a residence in England as a compulsory measure He thought it would not be acceptable to the country at large, but the Congress might perhaps accept it as a provisional compromise for the present

The Resolution was then put to the vote and passed

Mr P Rungiah Naidu (Madras) moved the 5th Resolution as follows —

Mr Chairman and Gentlemen,

You are aware that while the poverty of India is daily increasing the limits of taxation have been reached and almost all resources of revenue exhausted British Administration has unfortunately not been economical, either from ignorance, inability, unwillingness, or some other cause or motive unknown Nay it has been extremely extravagant so extravagant that it is not able to make the two ends meet Our rulers have often recourse to another, and a very disastrous, expedient, of raising loans to maintain equilibrium between income and expenditure This is generally a method to which spendthrifts and reckless speculators resort, but fortunately for them, at the last stage, when they are no longer able to raise loans, they have a ready relief at hand, *viz*, either the Bankruptcy or the Insolvent Court but I do not think our Government has such an institution to give it relief

That the above is not an overdrawn picture but a real representation of the embarrassed condition of Indian finance, has been borne testimony to by several financiers of great and tried ability and by several humane, able and far-seeing Viceroys, the true representatives of our Queen Empress and the true sons of the land of liberty and philanthropy,—representatives who have unanimously declared that India is not capable of enduring further taxation and that the only remedy is to rigidly enforce retrenchment and economy in all directions Moreover experts in military affairs as well as the members of the Simla Army Commission have, after fair discussion and mature deliberation pronounced their opinion that the military expenditure has grown very excessive and that there is absolute necessity to curtail it

| | | | £ |
|---|---|---|---|
| In 1857 the Indian Military | | expenditure was | 11,463 000 |
| 64 | do | do | 14 510 247 |
| 66 | do | do | 16 748 220 |
| 70 | do | do | 16 320 739 |
| 72 | do | do | 15 678 112 |
| 76 | do | do | 15 308 460 |
| 77 | do | do | 15 792 112 |
| 80 | do | do | 21 712 862 |
| 84 | do | do | 16 975,750 |

Thus the military expenditure has increased by five millions While therefore the cry is for reduction, to our surprise, disappointment and misfortune, the Ministry of the day have resolved to increase the expenditure already unbearable by an additional charge of 2 millions for adding 30 000 men to the existing army without proving the necessity for such an increase

Gentlemen, let us, first of all see whether there is any necessity for this increase Peace and order have been restored to the country and there is no fear of internal disquietude It is true that the scare of foreign invasion, caused by the recent action of the Russian Government, created some apprehension It is more the bad feeling evinced by some of our Anglo Indian fellow subjects than anything else that made the Russians believe that the Natives were ready to assist them in subverting the British Indian Empire Was not Russia sufficiently undeceived when, on the occasion of her threat, all the inhabitants of India from the

prince down to the peasant, vied with one another in placing the entire resources of their several States and their hard earned private fortunes, at the disposal of our Government? Did not many native gentlemen also apply, on the same occasion, to the Governor General to give them permission to enlist themselves as Volunteers so that they might by action also, and not only by mere word of mouth, display their loyalty by fighting for their country and for their Sovereign? Did not the whole body of Native Princes and the entire mass of the population all over this country evince well and spontaneously similar loyalty to our Queen Empress on the occasion of the departure of our late and most beloved Viceroy, Lord Ripon? And if it were not quite superfluous I should, once more, declare, and I am perfectly certain that all of you will join me in that declaration, that no Native of India will ever be guilty of want of gratitude and loyalty to our Queen Empress for the innumerable and inestimable blessings conferred on us by British rule Gentlemen, had it not been for English education and Western civilisation, persons inhabiting different parts of this vast country speaking diverse languages and professing diverse religions, would not have this day met together in this Hall to interchange thoughts give expression to their common grievances and aspirations and discuss in a most constitutional manner the means for redressing those grievances and fulfilling those aspirations

Under these circumstances it is to be hoped that our rulers will change their present policy of suspicion and distrust for a generous and confiding one Let them moderately encourage rather than rudely damp the martial spirit of our martial races, by improving the status of the Native army, treating it, not as a mere mercenary force but as part of the national army, accepting the offers of the people to enrol themselves as Volunteers systematically utilising the armies of the Native States by giving them better arms and better discipline and making them an integral and efficient part of the army of the Empire and by admitting Native gentlemen as officers in the Indian army A generous policy that will introduce these changes will vastly strengthen the military position of the British in this country backed as it will be by the whole moral force of the people It will be seen that we therefore do not require more troops But if, in spite of these facts, more European soldiers be required for the purposes of war should it actually break out on any future occasion they could be called from England very easily, and at an exceedingly short notice because of the existence at present, of greater facilities of communication between the two countries But I believe that there is no present necessity of increasing the military expenditure of this country by adding 30 000 men to its army at a cost of 2 millions to overburdened India

With these remarks I propose the Fifth Resolution —

"That in the opinion of the Congress the proposed increase in the military expenditure of the empire is unnecessary, and regard being had to the revenue of the empire and the existing circumstances of the country excessive"

Mr Dinsha Edulji Wacha (Bombay) seconded the Resolution in the following speech —

GENTLEMEN —Our Madras friend the mover of the Resolution, has just pointed out to you in general terms the alarming growth of the military expenditure during the last few years And I would now endeavour to place

before you the causes and nature of that growth in details The particulars I am about to bring to your notice will, I am sure, convince you how burdensome, and even partially unjust, is the present expenditure of 17 millions sterling per annum, and how great is the necessity of reducing it to the figure of 14½ to 15 millions which was with little fluctuation maintained till 1871 2 It is superfluous to say that the net increase during the last twenty years has been 3 millions sterling or an annual average growth of £150,000 Contrast, gentlemen, for a moment the 17 millions expended in 1884 on an army of 180,000 men, British and Native with 11½ millions in 1856 on an army of 254,000 men Admitting all that has been urged as to the organic changes that have been introduced into the British army for better efficiency, the rise in prices of food and forage and clothing and the dearness of recruits admitting all these facts none who has impartially studied the question and given some thought to the cost of the various armies maintained by the great military monarchies on the Continent of Europe can fail to acknowledge the extravagance of the army services as maintained in India No subject demands greater attention than the cost of the army at this juncture when the Indian revenues are threatened with a further charge of 2 millions sterling per annum on account of the 30,000 more soldiers who are now being rapidly enlisted I trace the root of the continuous growth in the military expenditure to the amalgamation scheme of 1859 It has been the main cause of financial embarrassment to the Government of India Sir George Balfour regretted that he took a part in that scheme Sir Charles Trevelyan observed that it was based on a principle which has been found to be extravagant and crushing in practice It is in the nature of a one sided partnership in which India was not allowed freedom of contract What the exact nature of this partnership is may be best stated in the words of the late Mr Fawcett —" A few years after the abolition of the East India Company what is known as the Army amalgamation scheme was carried out in direct opposition to the advice of the most experienced Indian statesmen India was thus as it were bound hand and foot to our own costly system of army administration, without any regard apparently being had to the fact that various schemes of military organisation which may be perfectly suited to a country so wealthy as England, may be altogether unsuited to a country so poor as India

A partnership has been established between England and India and as one of these countries is extremely rich and the other extremely poor, much of the same incongruity and many of the same inconveniences arise as if two individuals were to join in house keeping one of whom had £20,000 a year and the other only £1,000 An expenditure which may be quite appropriate to the one whose income is £20,000 would bring nothing but embarrassment to the one whose income is only £1,000 The money which is expended may be judiciously laid out but if the man with the smaller income finds that he is gradually becoming embarrassed with debt because he has to live beyond his means it is no compensation to him to be told that he is only called to contribute his proper share of the expenses His position would be the more intolerable if like India, after having been compelled against his wish to join the partnership, he is forced to continue in whether he desires to do so or not " This gentlemen is the precise condition to which India has been reduced by the amalgamation scheme No doubt, it has certain advantages but these are greatly overbalanced by the many disadvantages India has to put up with

So far, I have dealt with what I may call *the* cause of the inefficiency ness of the Indian army I hope you will be good enough to give me a patient hearing for a few minutes while I briefly dilate on the broad *results* of that one sided contract to which I have referred They are deduced from official facts and statements Indeed, I shall try throughout to support my observations by placing before you overwhelming official testimony to convince you beyond the shadow of a doubt how excessive is this expenditure and how far is it incurred without due regard to the interests of the country In their report the Simla Army Commissioners state (p 1?5) — We think that the portion of the army employed in this country should be organised and administered with due regard to the interests of the people of India and not for the purpose of supplying defects in the system of home defence, and above all that it should not be made the means of obtaining at the cost of India, advantages for the army at home which do not entirely affect the interests of the country ' I do not think the justice of this principle can be impugned But to give a fair idea of how the process of increasing the charges on the European forces in India has been carried on, it is needful to cite the testimony of the Government of India itself It should be remembered that in the aggregate these charges have thrown an additional permanent burden of £800 00? per annum—charges in levying which the Indian Government has had no voice In the 45th paragraph of their despatch of 21st November 188 , it is stated —

"In 1864 65 increased rates of pay were granted to medical officers of the British service in India amounting to £2? 000 a year and a revised scale of clothing and compensation to the British army was introduced costing £20,000 a year

In 1865 66 increased rates of pay were granted to veterinary surgeons, amounting to £3 ?00 a year

' In 186? 67 gymnastic instruction was introduced for British troops at a cost of £1? 000 a year

' In 1867 68 an increase of 2d a day was made to the pay of British soldiers and an additional penny on re engagement the cost being £??0 000 a year

In the same year skeleton companies of Royal Engineers were formed in India at a cost of £? ?0? a year

'In 18 8 69 increased pay was given to paymasters quarter masters and riding masters of British regiments amounting to £15 ??? a year

' In 1870 71 the grant of good conduct pay, at earlier periods to British soldiers increased our Army estimates by £35 000

' In 1871 7 instruction in army signalling and telegraphy was introduced at an annual cost of £ 4 000

' In 1871 72 garrison instruction was introduced at a cost of £ 2 ,000 a year

871 74 the appointment of additional subalterns to regiments in India, to allow others to attend the course of garrison instruction, formed a new charge of £ 5 000 a year

"In 1873 74 improvements in the Regimental schools of British regiments in India by the application of Home regulations, increased the estimates by £7,000 a year, the grant of band allowance to British regiments in India by £ 14,720, and the readjustment of ranks of the British Medical Service in India by £18,000

"In 1874 75 the raised rates of pay of British troops in India added to the estimates £64,000 a year

"In 1875 76 the grant of pay of rank to majors of Royal Artillery and engineers in India created a new annual charge of £27,000

"In 1876-77 the increased pay of non commissioned officers and lance ranks amounted to £40,0 0 a year

"In the same year prospective charges for deferred pay were introduced, the maximum to be reached in 1890 being £165 000

"In 1876 77 also the promotion of British medical officers after 12 years, service, and non effective charges by changes in the rules for compulsory retirement, introduced a new item of £ 29 000

"In 1879 80 the readjustment of veterinary surgeons' pay cost £1,00 a year

"In 1880 81 a reorganisation of the army Medical Department non-effective charges involved a new annual charge of £13 320

In 1881 the Royal Pay Warrant of 5th June 1881 raised a fresh charge for the pay of non commissioned officers and men of £30,000 a year'

The Despatch goes on to say that 'these additional charges amount to more than £ 80 000 a year Some of them were necessary for improvements others were imposed with little or no reference to Indian wants, and in most cases without the Indian Government having any voice in the matter' It will be seen from the above facts and figures how costly and how ruinously one sided is the partnership which the Imperial Government has obliged India to enter into, in the matter of military administration without giving her the smallest voice in the conduct of that partnership

I hope I have made it clear to you from the extract just quoted the fact that almost all the charges were fastened on this country in consequence of the exigencies of the organisation of the British army in England Home demands for payments have been steady and persistent In their Military Despatch (No 168, dated Simla 2 nd May 87) the Government of India observed — 'A large part of the Home expenditure is for pensions, furlough allowances, the overland troop transport service, and stores The remainder is for payments to the Imperial Government on account of Imperial troops which have been repeatedly investigated, but with results we have not been able to accept as satisfactory Justice to India requires the reduction of these payments to a consolidated yearly payment of £8 00' Two years later the Government of Lord Ripon remonstrated on the burden of these charges in a manner so telling that I would best make you understand their gravity by quoting the paragraph on the subject (11, Despatch No 401 of 1881) It has to be observed that whereas the British garrison in India has practically remained unaltered in respect of numbers and efficiency for many years past, its cost has been in course

of constant increase from the various changes which have been made in the organisation of the British army, *changes made entirely, it may be said, from imperial considerations in which Indian interests have not been consulted or advanced* It has to be remembered that charges which do not cause any very serious addition to the English estimates and which are carried on without the least reference to India involve very much larger charges on the Indian revenues by reason of the much more liberal allowance enjoyed by officers in this country. The conversion for example of the first Captains of the Royal Artillery into Majors gives the officer so promoted an increase of only 5 shillings a day in England in this country the difference between the pay of a Major and a Captain of artillery is Rs 342 a month" Gentlemen look at the immense difference in this one item of military charges alone Fancy, a poor country like India being screwed by a wealthy country like England to pay Rs 292 more per month for the promotion of officers in *one grade only of one branch* of the army! But the enormity of the heavy charges thrown upon this country in the matter (a) of home depots (b) of recruits, (c) of non effective services (d) of transports and (e) of short service will be perceived at its full from the sequel As to Home Depots the *Westminster Review* observed for as back as 1866 or 1867 —" England bears the expense of maintaining an army for the use of India where is the truth is that India is maintaining a vast army which though paid by India is available at any moment for the service of England Of these troops paid from the revenues of India no less than 10 000 on the average are stationed in the Home Depots and form a part of the defences of England at all times Now, India is not merely required to pay for the transport of troops both to and from India but is made to pay a consolidated charge of £10 per annum to the Horse Guards for *every British soldier serving in the country upon the pretext* that it is necessary to keep these depots in England to maintain the force This charge of late years has amounted to nearly £700 000 a year, and must be held to be a most *unwarrantable exaction* when it is remembered that these depots form an important part of the garrison required for the defence of the United Kingdom At the very time the Colonels of the French army were threatening the nation with invasion (1859) on account of the Orsini plot the Ministers and publicists of England were congratulating themselves upon the presence in England of some 20 000 to 22 000 soldiers in depot the cost of whom was being defrayed *by the Indian tax payer* on the ground that the regiments to which the men belonged were serving in India *The pretext was true but the exaction was surely disgraceful* Thus as the defence of the richest country in the world *shabbily* devolved upon the very poorest.' Gentlemen, this is the true history of the cost of home depôts After the vigorous manner in which the reviewer has criticised the gross injustice of the burdensome charge, an injustice which I regret to say they have done but little to repair even now, it is unnecessary for me to further comment upon it

As to the extravagant cost of recruits, I may mention that a continued controversy has gone on during the last 25 years as to the mode of calculating on a fair and equitable basis the charge for their enlistment and maintenance prior to their embarkation for India And though one method after another has been adopted and discarded, they have not yet come to any satisfactory arrangement so far as this country is concerned Meanwhile, it would not be uninstruc

tive to quote here the reports of General Jamieson and Mr (now Sir Thomas) Seccombe on the extraordinary dearness of a recruit, as supplied by England to India "We feel it to be our duty again to refer to the fact that the East India Company were able to send efficient artillery and infantry recruits to India at a cost of £26 7 5 per man instead of 136 13 11 for cavalry and £ 63 8 5 for infantry recruits as now proposed We are fully aware that the changes made in the terms of enlistment pay clothing, would have increased the charge, as incurred by the East India Company, but the proposed establishments for, and the period of training which have formed the basis of this Third Report of the Committee appear to us to be *enormously in excess* of what can possibly be required for the purpose of properly recruiting the British Army in India According to Colonel Sykes the maximum in one particular year was as much as £576! So strongly impressed were General Jamieson and Mr Seccombe with the "enormously" excessive charge of recruits per man that they raised the serious question why India should bear the whole burden of maintaining depots which virtually form a part of England's home defences and why should that burden be increased by the long periods of training enforced on recruits for service in this country? For further particulars I would refer members to the evidence taken by the Parliamentary Select Committee which sat from 1871 to 1874 to inquire into the questions relating to the finances of India Suffice to say that the experts who were examined and cross examined on the subject failed to give any satisfactory explanation

Coming now to the burden of the non effective services I would ask you to refer to the blue book on the subject published by order of the House of Commons, on 1?th August 1884 It gives a succinct account of how the charges have grown year after year and how vigorously the Government of India has been fighting for years past to bring these charges within a reasonable limit I would not therefore tax your patience further on this head beyond informing you in a few words how alarming is the growth Prior to 1822 India paid nothing for non effective charges that from 1822 to 1861 the principle which governed the division of non effective charges between England and India was one of a fixed payment by India to England of £60,000 a year that from 1861 to 1870 this latter principle was abandoned in favour of a capitation payment and finally that in 1870 the principle of capitation was abandoned in favour of a system under which the capitalised value of the pensions was paid by the Indian to the English Treasury This latter is the system which is still in force Gentlemen here are the figures of the enhanced charges between 1871 and 1884 In the former year they amounted to £1,775,133 in the latter to £4,158,780 The increase has amounted to £2,383,647 in 14 years or 134 per cent In other words the charges on account of non effective services have steadily increased at an annual average of £170,200! The iniquity of the charges however does not rest here While disputes as to the fairness of the demand by the War Office for charges from year to year have gone on, during which the Government of India continued to pay large sums in part, a claim for arrears was made for a million sterling and more which as you all know, has had to be paid only last year by the Indian Treasury Nay you will have some idea of the gross injustice of their demand when I tell you that £100,000 were claimed for interest alone—interest on arrears

which remained unadjusted on account of the delay at the War Office alone' This is the treatment which India has to suffer from the military authorities at home. Moreover, the injustice of the charge is greatly enhanced when it is considered that *the Crown Colonies are never charged a sixpence for non effective services* I will just read what the Government of India has said on the point "We believe also that we are correct in saying that Crown Colonies pay nothing towards the non effective charges It is one of the heaviest items of Army charges, and entails besides a large loss by exchange

Coming to the overland transport service, it may be mentioned that the East India Company incurred on an average £70,000 per annum, net Of course, the troops came *via* the Cape in ships But though the opening of the Suez Canal has revolutionised the whole transit trade between Europe and Asia, though freights have in consequence been lower than they were prior to 870, and though immense facilities of communication now exist, the charges are indeed very extravagant In 1864 65 they came to £182,214, in 1883 to £365,000 *or fully double!* Besides it must be remembered that India has been saddled with the cost of five transport vessels amounting to £1,200,000 Some years ago public feeling on the subject was very vigorously expressed in the columns of the *Englishman* 'There is one item of military expenditure touched upon in General Norman's excellent financial analysis of the Indian Army Bill for the past year which deserves instant attention and correction As a bit of senseless extravagance, it is solely chargeable against the home authorities who make India pay for the patronage and political capital it affords to the Admiralty We allude to the transport charge of £400,000 for the carriage of, let us say at hazard some 4,0 0 soldiers being at the rate of £100 per man Nor is the exorbitant nature of the charge its only objection The ordinary carrying and other trade is injured by it It is in the nature of competition without containing one of the elements of competition' Another veteran journalist of great experience observed —'the truth seems to be that the Home Government is utterly reckless what it spends on Indian account That the *building of this fleet* was an act of extravagant folly when circumstances of the country are remembered who can doubt? India is not the in circumstances to afford *this wanton outlay of public money*' Gentlemen, it is again needful to remember that England *never charges a sixpence for the transport of her troops to her foreign possessions* in every part of the civilised world In a minute on this subject, Sir Charles Wingate recorded as far back as 1859 as follows — The cost of transporting British troops to India, is also charged upon the British ship owners, and as it is made for the maintenance of British authority in India it would clearly be reasonable and fair that the charge, as in the case of troops sent to any of our foreign dependencies, should be borne by the British Exchequer' It may be fairly admitted that public criticism has had *the effect* of getting the expenditure somewhat reduced of late under this head Still it is not all that is desirable The Simla Army Commission recommend in their report (para 210) 'that the system whereby all reliefs and drafts of British troops are sent by British troop ships to Bombay should be revised We advise that steps be taken to ascertain at what rates the great English Steam Companies would convey troops regularly to the several ports of Calcutta Madras, Kurrachee and Rangoon We believe that, if a contract were made for a considerable

number of troops, and for a term of years, private companies would convey troops regularly and comfortably to and fro from the several ports nearest their stations, at considerably below the cost of transport by the troop ships"

I now come to the last of those charges fastened on India in consequence of the changes in the organisation of the British Army nearly, the short service system It would be presumptuous for me as a layman to pronounce on the merit or demerit of the system I would, therefore, content myself by again quoting the testimony of experts The Simla Army Commission (paragraph 2 9) state —' It has been already mentioned that the short service system recently introduced into the British Army has increased the cost, and has materially reduced the efficiency of the British troops in India *We cannot resist the feeling that, in the introduction of this system, the interest of the Indian tax payer was entirely left out of consideration.*"

Gentlemen, I fear, I have already trespassed too much on your time by referring to the several details of the army charges which have increased the total cost to 17 millions sterling But I trust you will bear with me a few minutes longer before I sit down I ask you, to remember that the Home Military Charges are divided into two parts– the one includes the expenditure under the control of the Indian Government, and the other the expenditure not under such control and regulated by the War Office While the former has been steadily maintained at an average of £2, 500 000 since 1874 5, the latter, that is the expenditure controlled by the War Office, has risen since that year from £800,000 to about £1 400,000 and there is no saying how rapidly it may swell to £2 000 000

View, then, this expenditure of 17 millions sterling as you may from every point, you cannot help admitting its appalling enormity It means 39½ per cent of the net revenue of 43 millions In other words the Army service charges absorb the whole of the net land revenue save a million While the normal growth of the latter is estimated at about £57 000 per annum, the growth of the former is more, £150 0 0—that is to say, one year's growth of military expenditure absorbs the growth of the net land revenue for nearly 2½ years Consider the weight of this burden on so poor a country as ours—a country which has no true surplus of revenue to fall back upon and has no ordinary means to provide for unforeseen contingencies like war or famine Consider the burden from another point also Out of the total expenditure of 17 millions, 4 millions on an average are annually disbursed in England The amount has to be paid in gold So that we have to pay nearly one crore of Rupees more to meet the loss by exchange, under this one head only I will not detain you with the economic aspect of this fact But I may mention that every million sterling that is expended in England on account of India involves a loss by exchange of about 25 lakhs of Rupees at the present rate The larger the amount annually of the bills drawn by the Secretary of State on the Indian treasury for Home Charges, especially military, the larger the exports of the products of this country In other words, India has to grow more and part with more products in exchange for home remittances The significance of this economic fact I leave it to you to realise But while this military expenditure is growing apace, while all India to a man has been loud in denouncing its crushing burden, the authorities have determined to add 10,000 more British and 20,000 more Native troops at an estimated cost of 2 millions sterling per annum,

and that, too, without any cogent reasons. How is this additional permanent expenditure to be provided for? For months past the air has been rife with rumours of the imposition of an Income Tax Indeed statements have lately been freely made on authentic sources that we may very soon expect a bill being introduced into the Viceregal Legislative Council for the purpose As, however, another member of this Congress will speak to the general question of revenue and taxation, I will refrain from dwelling on this subject

But I hope, gentlemen, I have made it quite clear to you how great is the strain on Indian finance on account of the maintenance of a small army of 1,89,000 men— an army which, I unhesitatingly say, costs twice as much and a little over as any army in any part of the civilised world In fact there is no parallel to its extravagant cost The growing charges on the army services are a source of perpetual embarrassment to the Government of India Viceroy after Viceroy and Finance Minister after Finance Minister have remonstrated with successive Secretaries of State for India on the urgent necessity of curtailing the expenditure but they seem to have remonstrated to little purpose hitherto. In fact, the evidence taken before the Select Committee on India Finance in 1872 3, conclusively shows that the Secretary of State himself is almost powerless to prevent the War Office perpetually making inroads under one pretext or another on the revenues of India That part of the expenditure which is not under the control of the India Office, needs to be brought under control by a Parliamentary statute, apart from an honest retrenchment all round in the various branches of the army administration I cannot help believing that Mr Laing was perfectly correct when he said that "India is the milchcow of England' and that Indian revenues are encroached upon " to suit the exigencies of English estimates

The Select Committee to which I have referred, stated in their Report that they "could not lay down too strongly, the position that the English estimates ought not to be relieved at the expense of the Indian revenues, but that the Secretary of State for India in Council has the constitutional right of refusing to pay for objects in which he considers that India has no interest' In this respect it has been admitted that India was better situated during the administration of the late East India Company, though, it has been observed, that even then the authorities at the Horse Guards did not fail in spite of the most formidable opposition offered by the Court of Directors, to saddle 10 millions sterling of the cost of the first Afghan War on the revenues of this country. Mr Fawcett observed —"It should however, never be forgotten that when the East India Company was abolished, the English people became directly responsible for the Government of India It cannot, I think, be denied that this responsibility has been so imperfectly discharged that in many respects the new system of Government compares unfavourably with the old There was at that time an independent control of expenditure which now seems to be almost entirely wanting It was no doubt, intended, when the Government of India by the Act of 1858 was transferred from the Company to the Crown, that the Council of the Secretary of State should exercise, the same control over Indian expenditure, as had formerly been exercised by the Directors of the Company and by the Court of proprietors. But gradually the influence and control of the Council have been so completely whittled away that it is now openly declared by the Secretary of State that he can spend the revenues of

India beyond her frontiers, without obtaining the consent, or even bringing the subject under the notice of his Council. Nothing can be more unsatisfactory than the present state of things. When the Secretary of State desires to avoid responsibility he can shelter himself behind his Council, when he desires to act untrammelled by their control and unhampered by their advice he can ignore them as completely as if they did not exist! The root of the evil lies here and active steps must sooner or later be taken the sooner the better to bring an end to it, highly injurious as it is to the material interests of the country and its people. It is to be earnestly hoped, therefore that the Resolution which this Congress will now be asked to adopt will be turned to practical account by the various political organisations. For unless a vigorous remonstrance is sent up to the authorities against the burdensome character of the total charge, and the injustice of a portion of the charges I am humbly of conviction that this growth of the military expenditure alarming, and in certain matters uncontrolled as it has been in the past will grow more burdensome and uncontrolled and seriously embarrass the finances of the country in future. This contingency our united efforts must at all hazards legitimately attempt to avert—relying on that stern sense of justice which preeminently distinguishes the British among the great nations of the civilised world.

The resolution was supported by Mr Dyaram Jethmal (Karrachee) who began by suggesting an earnest and careful consideration of this question. The pith of the matter he said was —Had the Government made out the necessity for the proposed increase ? If it was justifiable there was of course nothing to be said against it. So far as the people of India were aware the reasons for it were totally wanting. This was certainly a fit case for enquiry. Had the people given cause for it ? No. Surely no mutinous spirit had been exhibited by the Natives of India. Had the inhabitants in the interior assumed a warlike attitude towards the ruling power ? Loyalty was the ruling spirit that moved the nation from one end of the country to the other. The only excuse which the speaker had heard of for the proposed increase was the bugbear of a Russian invasion. Well, with regard to this plausible excuse, whatever the fears might be there were facts important and patent which should be borne in mind. It had been acknowledged by competent authorities that the existence of a neutral zone on the North West of India was a factor in the problem which should always be considered by the British Government. With friendly Afghanistan between Indian and Russian territory there was no necessity of a very large Indian army. And was not Afghanistan friendly ? What chance had a warlike foreign power like Russia of doing harm to India in the immediate present or in the near future ? The expenditure was quite unjustifiable. Even if the frontier required to be strengthened with larger troops there was no need of increasing the Indian Army. It could not be said that sufficient troops were not available in the interior of the country for frontier purposes. Regiment after regiment remained unemployed from year's end to year's end and kept in cities and provinces where they were not required. He instanced the regiments in Sind in the cities of Karachee and Hyderabad the men of which found their time hang heavy on their hands. They were absolutely idle. If there was any agreeable occupation for them, they, or rather some of the members of these regiments

Mr Javerilal Umiashankar Yajnik (Bombay) proposed the Sixth Resolution as under —Mr Chairman and gentlemen of the Congress, the proposition to which I solicit your attention is "That, in the opinion of this Congress, if the increased demands for military expenditure are not to be, as they ought to be, met by retrenchment, they ought to be met, firstly, by the re imposition of the Customs Duties, and secondly, by the extension of the License tax to those classes of the community, official and non-official, which are at present exempted from it, care being taken that in the case of all classes a sufficiently high taxable minimum be maintained' So far, gentlemen, the topics which have engaged your attention have had for their object the reform of the administrative and consultative departments of the State, but the subject of the Resolution you have just passed, and that to which I have now the honour of addressing you, are of an eminently practical character They directly touch your pockets Three months hence you will have before you the Financial Statement of the Government of India That Statement will lay bare the matured proposals of Government arising out of the balance sheet of the year Already the air is thick with rumours in regard to fresh taxation, as to the probable imposition of an Income Tax in place of the existing License tax The time is opportune, therefore, for this Congress to formulate its own views as to the best means of raising a maximum of revenue with a minimum of annoyance For this purpose it is needful to recall what Sir Auckland Colvin said at the conclusion of the last Financial Statement (for 1885 86, para 139) —'If during the ensuing year (1886 87) we are not called upon to submit to any material increase of expenditure, the estimates, based as they are on a very low rate of exchange and a very moderate calculation as to the revenue of our trade, may, I think, be trusted to bear the test of trial Should trade revive or exchange become more favourable, we shall have resources ample enough to meet our estimated expenditure On the other hand, it is impossible to say whether additional expenditure may not in the course of the year have to be provided for, exceeding the limits of any addition which our revenues may reasonably hope to derive from the strengthening of our railway receipts or from the improvement in our exchange' The worst forebodings herein pointed out have been realised Our expenditure on account of the military operations during the year and on account of the proposal made in Lord Randolph Churchill's statement to add a permanent burden of 2 millions a year for the cost of 30,000 troops to the Indian army has exceeded 'the limits of any addition which our revenues may reasonably hope to derive from the railway receipts or from the improvement in our exchange' No doubt there has been an increase in railway receipts but it has been more than counter balanced by other circumstances There has been an increase of expenditure over and above the estimated amount Exchange has suffered a serious fall since the date of the last budget It has touched a limit below 1s 6d and may for aught we know, go down still farther Mr Westland has calculated that for every fall of a farthing in exchange, the Government of India suffers a loss amounting to somewhere about a quarter of a million sterling On this basis we must be prepared for a loss of at least a million sterling in exchange To this add the two millions of permanent charge for additions to the army of India Against this it is possible you may have a set off in the shape of a surplus over estimated revenue In bad times Indian financiers are apt to

estimate revenues under several heads at a much lower level than they do ordinarily This plan no doubt strengthens their contention for 'elasticity' of revenue, and enables them to claim credit for prudent management of finances Trade, again, has been dull Perhaps this has been a year of the most depressed trade in India during a very long period As a set off against these adverse influences, the Government of India issued, some months back, a Circular letter directing 'all optional expenditure, whether from provincial or Imperial Revenues to be suspended,' all proposals for increases of salaries or of establishments or for additional expenditure *of any kind should be narrowly scrutinized,' Particular* attention was directed to the Public Works Department as offering perhaps the readiest scope for the use of shears It seems to me that considerable relief would be given to the finances, if retrenchments were carried out in a thorough and rigorous manner, without impairing the efficiency of the public service But what has been the fact? A retrenchment Circular from the Government of India is no new thing In 1879 a similar Resolution from the Government of India was issued But the relief afforded by it was hardly appreciable. Generally the plan adopted by Heads of Departments or the purpose of showing what reduction is or can be made by them is to dispense with the services of a clerk here and a clerk there, to dismiss a *panwala* or water bearer who supplies water to the thirsty members of a public establishment or a *Chaprasi* on perhaps Rs 8 or Rs 10 a month Until retrenchment, to be effectual, goes up higher, until it touches the pockets of those who receive very high salaries, any cheese paring policy of the kind at present pursued can surely impart no sensible relief Retrenchment must begin at the top, with the salary of the Viceroy, with the salaries of the members of the Supreme Government, and of the highly paid Secretaries to the Government of India Shears should next be applied to the salaries of Presidency Governors and to those of the Members of their Councils, including the salaries of the Commanders in Chief of the different Presidencies Then there is the Civil Service—the most highly paid service in the world Time was when this service needed to be remunerated on the present extravagant scale Thirty years ago the Covenanted Civil Servant was looked upon as living as an exile in a *foreign* land But *circumstances have immensely changed* The Civil Servant of the present day can run back to his native land, meet his relations and friends and rejoin his post in India within a period of eight or ten weeks Again some of the over grown departments called into being to meet special emergencies may very well stand a clipping Of this we have a notable instance in the revenue Commissionership for the Centra Division of this Presidency. The office was created to meet a famine emergency That emergency has long passed away, but the Commissionership still remains and is a drag on the revenues of this Presidency to the extent of about half a lakh rupees a year It is not, however, the salaries which are alone to be considered Increase of salaries carries with them increase of pensions It is not intended by these remarks to urge that there should be a sudden cutting down of all salaries The retrenchment policy of Government, to be of any permanent benefit, should aim at reductions for the future The reduced scale must be made applicable to new incumbents This will remove grounds of ill-treatment or injustice in the case of existing holders of appointments The new comers will know what they are to expect And thus the working of the retrenchment

Gentlemen, I have already trespassed upon your patience and exceeded the time allotted to me I shall now leave the rest in the hands of Mr Venkata Subbarayudu Garu, the supporter of this proposition, who, I believe, has devoted much time and attention to the study of this question

With these few observations I have great pleasure in seconding the Resolution moved by my friend Mr J U Yajnik

Rao Saheb Singarajee Venkata Subbarayudu Pantulu Garu (Masulipatam) supported the Resolution in the following speech —

The subject is one of paramount importance If there is one subject which affects us most it is taxation We admit that a government cannot be carried on without taxing its subjects This is but a truism It is equally true that heavy taxation impoverishes the people and defeats its object Taxation, therefore, cannot proceed beyond a certain point That we have reached this point has been admitted on all hands The recent expression of a strong opinion on this matter by Lord Randolph Churchill in his budget speech obviates all necessity for giving reasons for this view According to Dr Hunter, a great authority on Indian statistics [illegible] millions of our countrymen go through life upon insufficient food This number is gradually increasing Unquestionably India is one of the poorest countries on the face of the earth We are subject to periodical famines, and each famine carries away three or four million souls, while it reduces to a state of utter destitution fifty or sixty millions The average income per head has been ascertained to be Rs 27 per annum This will not give one wholesome meal a day Eighty per cent of the population live by holding or tilling land That land has most heavily taxed has been proved to demonstration by the miserable condition of the agricultural classes who form the backbone of our country Additional taxation in this direction is out of the question But even granting that this is an overdrawn picture of the country, and that the country is fairly prosperous and wealthy, it will occur to one when additional taxation is proposed what is the necessity for it? The answer to this question is furnished by the present Secretary of State for India and other Russophobists It is this—Russia wants to invade India which must be defended The best way to defend India is to fortify the North West frontier by building a chain of forts from Karachi to Peshawar and by increasing the standing army Is it likely that Russia will invade India? Is the proposed method of defence absolutely indispensible for safeguarding India against Russian aggression? Russia is far away from us Strong natural barriers and independent kingdoms lie between us Russia's finances are not in a solvent condition These circumstances alone will suffice to dispel from the minds of all reasonable men all delusions of Russian advance against India

As to the second question, the proposed method of defending India is utterly uncalled for and useless It has its advantages I do not deny them It will provide employment for large numbers of Europeans and Indians It will create a large demand for materials of various descriptions in English and Indian markets Apart from these I see no advantages derivable from it This step convinces Russia that the British Government is very nervous about its position in India and that that Government has began to feel that it is not sufficiently strong to resist her at least with the existing means of defence We have about 1,000 Native States small and large. They maintain an armed force of 38[illegible],[illegible]00 men The

British Indian army is by no means small We have 60 000 British soldiers in our service, and nearly double that number of sepoys We have therefore a total force of 180 000 Discipline and train the Native armies give them arms of precision You can withdraw from the Native States 250 000 out of their 381 000 men and utilise them You will have then a united force of about 500 000 men The internal peace of the country can very well be preserved by the Police and Volunteer Corps Oppose this united army to Russia not in Afghanistan but on our North West frontier You will be able to annihilate the Russians If our paternal and benevolent Government will adopt the policy of trust and fear not' not a pie need be spent on defensive military preparations Gentlemen, we are a grateful nation We feel grateful to the British Government for the immense benefits it has conferred upon us We know that that Government is the only one in the world that could do us good We know that the British nation is the richest nation in the world We know that it is to our advantage to continue to be ruled by a nation which possesses at once the best form of constitutional Government and the greatest wealth on the face on the globe, and that Government has made us what we are and has given us all the best institutions we have at present Therefore there is no motive to be disloyal Disloyalty is foreign to our nature The history of the country proves it beyond all doubt We consider a king as a god on earth Have we ever as a nation tried to oust the established Government in this country? Have we not crushed those deluded people who under an erroneous conception supposed that their religion was intentionally attacked by the introduction of greased cartridges? Has it not been admitted by impartial and englightened Englishmen that their Government in this country is one by sufferance? If this has been so for nearly a century, what is there then to make us disloyal now? Every Englishman knowing Indian is a patriotic soldier in the British cause There are some Anglo Indians who say that English education has awakened in us wishes and aspirations which are inconsistent with existing Government There cannot be a more malicious and unfounded calumny than this It is the interest of some of them to say so while others are led away by ignorance The generous English nation knows that we are peaceful loyal and law abiding Gentlemen, our position is this we are the children of our beloved mother Empress We have been passing through a long minority Some of us at least have arrived at majority We solicit that those may in administrative matters be consulted by the servants of our mother Our affectionate mother has most graciously promised to grant our prayer but our elder brothers to whose care that good mother has committed us continue to misrepresent that we are not fit to participate with them in the management of our affairs We say this ought to be set right. For saying this we are called disloyal In the speech of Lord R Churchill, there is a passage which we should protest against In proposing to increase the Indian Army he said he would require 20,000 sepoys and 10 000 British soldiers to keep the sepoys down Bearing in mind that it is the Indian sepoy, who is the main-stay of British power here, it is a serious slur on his loyalty, I say to my English brethren, that utterance of Lord Randolph Churchill You take the sepoy to Egypt to Malta, Afghanistan and what not He renders most trustworthy services. He has placed his country at your feet and he has destroyed his countrymen under your orders You say you cannot do without him But you declare that he ought not to be trusted! Is this fair?

Is this just? Can this be British fair play? I believe England and India would not approve of that rash observation What pains an Indian most is to see that this policy of distrust has been growing In the early days of the Company's rule, we had five sepoys to one British soldier Just before the mutiny we had three sepoys to one British Soldier We have now two sepoys to one British soldier Gentlemen, this state of things is grievous to us and descreditable to our rulers In the matter of volunteering, the most loyal, patriotic and most respectable children of the soil have not been trusted There is no cause for alarm There is no real necessity for augmenting the strength of our army or for fortifying the frontier You know, and know it only too well that our views are not the views of our rulers I would therefore say a few words as to what should be done if additional expenditure is unavoidable in the defence of the country The first effort of a wise and benevolent Government, such as the one we have should be to see if savings cannot be effected by curtailing current expenditure The wisdom of this is admitted and printed circulars are constanly issued by our rulers on the subject A chaprasee here, and a sweeper there, and an attendant or a dufter bund in a third place have been dispensed with This is not satisfactory In spite of these orders existing departments have been overgrowing and new ones are brought into being I would ask that expenditure in certain branches of the administration may be retrenched at once I will enumerate them if you will permit me

1 Carry out the recommendations of the Simla Army Commission Abolish the Presidency military commands and carry out the other suggestions made by that Commission This will effect a saving of Rs 1,00 00,000

2 Put a stop to gubernatorial migrations to olympian heights

3 Don't undertake unremunerative public works, unless they are intended as protection against famine

4 Abolish the system of purchasing stores required for India in England

5 Cut down the salaries of the Civil Service Employ Natives largely Deputy Collectors can fairly do the work of Head Assistant Collectors and Sub Collectors

6 Discontinue payment of subsidy to Afghanistan and stop entertainments and durbars

If extravagance of expenditure be put a stop to, enough money will be found for useful and necessary expenditure Otherwise, we shall never be free from want If ways and means should be devised, I would say re impose the cotton duties The unwise step of abolition was taken by a Conservative Viceroy and reluctantly completed by his Liberal successor The free trade principle urged in support of that step was a threadbare pretext If more revenue is wanted—I don't think it will be—I say, extend the licence tax to the official and professional classes and to incomes derived from stocks or public debt irrespective of the fact whether the holder thereof lives in England or India

Additional taxation and extravagant expenditure proceeding simultaneously would involve the British Indian Government in financial embarrassment from which the Government will find it difficult to extricate itself These

financial difficulties and additional taxes will create an enemy in the shape of a canker within the bosom of our paternal Government and you know what it will do The country will be impoverished cultivators will abandon their lands and Government will follow their example and relinquish India May heaven forbid this dire calamity This will be worse than an invasion by Russia therefore, the *remedy proposed is worse than the disease As for raising the salt tax, it is* out of the question We are paying Salt Tax at a rate varying from 500 to ? 500 per cent on the cost of production Men and live stock cannot live without it We *vegetarian Indians absolutely need salt The average income of an Indian ryot* is a half pence per diem Why not Lancashire and Birmingham and York and others, who are benefitted by India contribute to our defence fund? Why cannot this be done *by reviving the import duties ?*

I will, with your *permission* quote from Ransome s work on India and how we keep it —'

' Now suppose for a moment that we were expelled from India or abandoned it what would happen? Would things go on as they are ? *Certainly* not In the first case a terrible blow to the purchasing power of India would be stuck in the desperate struggle that would certainly ensue before we are defeated and after we were gone Russia would certainly endeavour by hostile tariffs, to cut us and our colonies out of all share of what trade might be left In the second case our abandonment of India would certainly be followed by an anarchy such as on a small scale followed the withdrawal of the Romans from Britain 1 400 years ago In it all the work we have done for the material prosperity of the country would disappear capital would fly before its attacks the commercial prosperity of India built up with so much toil, would perish like a dream "

I need not picture to you the terrible results to England of such a catastrophe We know something of bad times No bad times that we have ever known would be even a shadow of what would ensue Lancashire would be utterly ruined Yorkshire would feel a terrible blow, and I hope you will agree with me that when we think of what value India is to us in the present and what a mine or wealth it will be to our children and grand children that any one who for a moment suggests indifference to its fate or stints his hand in doing what is *needful for its maintenance,* is *trifling with the well being not only of his fellow* citizens but of millions yet unborn '

Gentlemen the time alloted to me has been exceeded I cannot detain you any longer So I will close with these words that I would cordially support the resolution *moved by Mr Jaterilal*

Mr S H Chiplonkar proposed that a rider in the following words should be added to the resolution asking for an Imperial guarantee to the Indian debt —' *and, further that the Congress* is of opinion that Great Britain should extend an Imperial guarantee to the Indian debt

The Hon ble K T Telang seconded the proposal, observing that the arguments in support of this view have been collected together in one of the 'Indian Leaflets" issued during the last English Elections

The rider was accepted as part of the Resolution by the proposer and seconder

Mr Dayaram Jethmal proposed as an amendment that the words "secondly by the extension of the License Tax to the official and professional classes &c" be omitted He said the extension of the License Tax in the proposed manner meant virtually the imposition of an Income Tax which he said was very unpopular and distasteful He said he did not mean that the present License Tax should be retained as it is. He was no advocate of the License Tax He thought the License Tax which affected the mercantile classes at present was equally bad He objected on principle most strongly to any increase of taxation The Resolution as worded would have the effect of proving to Government an unobjectionable way of raising a tax in this country It could be understood very well how advantage would be taken of the expression of such views by the Congress The Government does not sometimes mind acting on the principle, 'give an inch and take an ell' The "if" in the Resolution was not enough The Resolution pointed out the ways and means to carry out the proposal for an increased army expenditure, and was inconsistent with the Resolution on that question The Government would necessarily impose an Income Tax and increase the army That would be the effect of the Resolution

The amendment was seconded by Mr Oodharam but on being put to the vote was lost

The original Resolution then with the rider was put to the vote and carried

Mr P M Mehta asked leave to bring in a motion about the Burman question, and in doing so said that he would not go into the question of the annexation which he thought was unwise, unjust and immoral But he would only look at the matter from the Indian point of view Lord Dufferin has said that the weakness of our North West Frontier disables him from giving as much attention as he would like to give to home affairs What will be the result, when we have similar trouble on our North East Frontier also? He would say that if annexation was decided upon, they should make Burmah a Crown Colony, and then with Ceylon in the South and Burmah in the East they could ask with greater strength and reason far more liberal institutions in India than she now possesses

These remarks were received with so much applause that the President said he would take the applause as equivalent to a grant of leave to make the motion which was —"That this Congress deprecates the annexation of Upper Burmah and considers that if the Government unfortunately decide on annexation, the entire country of Burmah should be separated from the Indian Viceroyalty and constituted a Crown Colony, as distinct in all matters from the Government of this country, as Ceylon"

Rao Bahadur Krishnaji Luxman Nulkar (Poona) seconded the motion made by Mr P M Mehta He said he was glad the Congress was taking up this burning subject, as he thought it was the duty of the Congress to do so The financial burdens under which India is groaning are due in a most serious measure to the First Afghan war The annexations of Sindh and the Punjaub were the outcome of that war—and the aggressions of Russia might be said to be traceable to those early aggressions of our own British Government We must therefore, raise our voice against these aggressions which are in character precisely similar The difficulties occasioned will be

such as will defy any remedy being applied There will be increased taxation for the necessity of fortifications at the North East forntier will arise much earlier than it did in the case of the N W frontier The course of this Burman business show indifference in the first instance and then all of a sudden a change and a declaration of war for the interests of trade If the annexation is in the interests of trade let the country be made a Colony and add British Burmah to that Colony, if that is thought expedient

[A member] Burmah is a paying province

I doubt that It was similarly said that the Punjaub was a paying province, but the accounts show a very different result For it must be remembered that in consequence of the annexation of the Punjaub the frontier military expenditure had to be increased This sort of increased expenditure is generally omitted from the calculation when the remunerative character of annexed provinces is talked of

The Hon'ble S Subrahmanya Iyer asked whether it was desirable to retain the earlier part of the resolution Might not the Congress merely content itself with saying that if unfortunately the decision of the authorities is to be as threatened India ought not to be affected or disturbed by the effects of such a decision ?

Mr Swaminath Iyer and professor Sundara Raman spoke in support of this suggestion

Mr P M Mehta pointed out that the adoption of this suggestion might exhibit the force of the opposition to the annexation policy as being weaker than it really was This view being then accepted by the Hon ble Subrahmanya Iyer and others the Resolution was passed unanimously

Mr Murlidhar (Umballa) then rose to propose the Eighth Resolution — That the Resolutions proposed by this Congress be communicated to the political associations in each province and that these associations be requested with the help of similar bodies and other agencies within their respective provinces to abopt such measures as they may consider calculated to advance the settlement of the various questions dealt with in these Resolutions"

Mr Murlidhar said that the Congress must take some steps to give effect to the Resolutions passed Their opponents were sure to misrepresent and perhaps vilify them And therefore, it was necessary that the opinion of the intelligent classes among their countrymen should be brought out upon all the subjects discussed by the Congress

Mr H H Dhruva (Surat) seconded this resolution and it was carried unanimously

It was next proposed by Mr Hume and seconded by the Hon ble S Subramanya Iyer —That the Indian National Congress reassemble next year in Calcutta and sit on Tuesday, the 28th of December 8 6 and the succeeding days '

The Hon ble Subramanya Iyer in seconding the Resolution said that Madras would be most ready to welcome the Congress, if they were pleased to fix Madras as their next place of meeting But he thought Calcutta was the appropriate place for the purpose

The Resolution was carried unanimously

The President said he could say on behalf of his brethren of Bengal that though owing to various unfortunate and accidental circumstances Bengal was not largely represented at this Congress as was to be desired that the Congress had the warm sympathy of that Presidency which would give them a cordial *welcome when they met there next year*

Mr G Subramanya Iyer then proposed and Mr S Agnihotri seconded the proposition —' *That the thanks of the Congress be offered to the Managing Committee* and officers of the Gokuldas Tejpal Charities *for their kindness in* allowing the use of the Gowalia Tank House to the Congress and *in rendering* other valuable assistance to the Members, as also to the Secretaries of the Bombay Presidency Association and those associated with them Mr Murlidhar in supporting the proposition said he had one complaint to make against his Bombay friends He charged them with theft They had robbed him of his heart

The Resolution was carried by acclamation

The Hon eble K T Telang in responding said, that it had been a great disappointment to Poona that owing ot untoward circumstances the place of the meeting had to be changed after their preparations had made considerable progress The Trustees of the Gokuldas Charities also deserved special thanks for their help in the matter rendered at excessively short notice

A cordial vote of thanks to the President for his very able conduct in *the chair was then proposed by Mr P M Mehta and carried by* acclamation *Three cheers were next called for Mr A O Hume which having been given*

Mr Hume *after acknowledging the honour done him said that as the giving of cheers had been ordered he must be allowed to propose,* on the principle of better late than never, the giving of cheers and that not only three, but three times three and if possible thrice that for one the latchet of whose shoes he was unworthy to loose one to whom they were all dear, to whom they were all as children— need he say Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen Empress

The rest of the speaker s remarks were lost in the storm of applause that instantly burst out and the asked *for cheers were given over and over again with a vehemence and enthusiasm rarely equalled*

The Congress was then *dissolved*

## APPENDIX A.

### Adoption of the foregoing Resolutions in all parts of the country

The foregoing Resolutions were widely circulated in the larger towns in all parts of the country and new public meetings or meetings of existing associations were held for the purpose of considering them In most places all the Resolutions were unanimously adopted, in one or two, there was a difference of opinion as regards the total abolition of the "India Council," and as regards the necessity of a stay in England on the part of selected candidates for the Civil Service Both these points were referred to in the debates of the Congress (see pp 53, 69, 101, supra) And it is probable that with the explanations afforded by the debates, which of course were not generally available at the time, these differences of opinion may be found to be smaller than they are at present.

Communications have been received from the following places, showing the acceptance of the Resolutions of the Congress

*Bengal* —Berhampur, Bhagalpur, Balasore, Cuttack, Mymensing, Dacca Rajshaye, Bankipore

*Bombay* —Ahmadabad, Ahmadnagar, Alibag, Belgaum Carwar, Dhulia, Hydrabad (Sindh), Karachi, Poona, Ratnagiri, Satara, Solapur, Surat, Thana

*N W Provinces and Oudh* —Allahabad, Benares, Bulandshahar, Fyzabad, Lucknow

*Madras* —Adoni, Anantapur, Ariyahir, Bapatla, Bezvada Calicut Chintalpudi, Coconada, Coimbatore Cuddalore Cuddappah, Erode Gooty, Guntur, Kulitilai Kumbakonam, Madras, Madura, Manargudi, Masulipatam, Melur, Mettapollium, Mylapore, Negapatam, Palabur Panruti, Rajahmandry, Sattur, Srirangam, Sinckerrydoorg, Tanjore Tinnevelly, Tiruchangad, Trichinopolly, Triplicane, Trivellore Vellore

At Bapatla the majority of the meeting resolved —"That there ought to be a Council with enlarged powers to check the action of the Secretary of State, or, in case of this not being possible the present Council should stand as it is"

At Ahmedabad, Anantapur, Calicut Guntur, and Masulipatam, there was a difference of opinion as to the necessity of selected candidates for the Civil Service staying in England At Anantapur, the following proposal was carried.— "That the successful candidates in India my be sent to England, for further study, and allowed there to appear for such further examinations as may seem needful, provided, however that being sent to England should not be compulsory, and those who prefer going to England should be entitled to full pay, and those that do not only two thirds pay of the post to which they are appointed' At Calicut the following resolution was proposed but rejected by a majority "And that the successful candidates in England should be sent to India for further study, and subjected here to such further examinations as may seem needful"

At Calicut, two members dissented from the Resolution about Military Expenditure

At Masulipatam, the resolution to extend the License Tax to the legal profession was objected to by a majority of the meeting on the ground that the Government already levied an entrance fee from members of the Profession and that there was a Municipal Tax imposed upon them

# APPENDIX B.

### *Political Progress in India*

(FROM THE "TIMES'S" BOMBAY CORRESPONDENT)

*Times's* Weekly Edition, Feb 5th 1886.

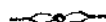
BOMBAY, DEC. 31.

The people of Bombay claim as the motto for their city "*Urbs prima in India*," and it is really not without reason When the agitation over the Ilbert Bill was at white heat, and in Calcutta not only race division, but even division between English and English rendered social intercourse almost impossible, still the natives in Bombay kept their heads cool and discussed the question at a great representative meeting in the Town-hall with a discretion and moderation that left nothing to be desired. At the time of Lord Ripon's departure they showed themselves capable of organizing an ovation which not merely delighted the sympathizers with the recent benignant rule, but still more startled the great mass of Anglo-Indians as the first proof that the natives of India are really capable of a national movement.

This last week the Bombay leaders have again given proof of their organizing power. They brought together a National Congress composed of delegates from every political society of any importance throughout the country. Seventy one members met together; 29 great districts sent spokesmen. The whole of India was represented from Madras to Lahore, from Bombay to Calcutta For the first time, perhaps, since the world began India as a nation met together. Its congeries of races, its deversity of castes, all seemed to find common ground in their political aspirations Only one great race was conspicuous by its absence; the Mahomedans of India were not there They remained steadfast in their habitual separation They certainly do not yield to either Hindu or Parsee in their capacity for development, but they persistently refuse to act in common with the rest of the Indian subjects of the Queen-Empress Not only in their religion, but in their schools, and almost all their colleges, and all their daily life they maintain an almost haughty reserve. The reason is not hard to find They cannot forget that less than two centuries ago they were the dominant race, while their present rivals in progress only counted as so many millions of tax paying units who contributed each his mite to swell the glory of Islam.

But, in spite of the absence of the followers of the Prophet, this was a great representative meeting last week. The delegates were mostly lawyers, school-masters, and newspaper editors, but there were some notable exceptions. Even supposing those three professions alone provided the delegates, the meeting would fairly represent the education and intellectual power of India And now let us see what they did, what was the outcome of this important gathering. They discussed politics alone; not a word was said of social reform. They evidently had a firm belief that a nation could be made happy by Acts of Parliament, for all they discussed and all they demanded was political power and political changes. A tone of most absolute loyalty pervaded all the proceedings; the Empress was rapturously applauded, and many nice things were said of the beneficent effect of British rule. Education and material prosperity, order, security, and good

Government were all incidentally mentioned as causes of gratitude towards the present rulers But such allusions were only by the way Every desire was concentrated on political advancement and an immense increase of the share at present given to the natives of India in the Government of their own country The question of their ability to govern themselves was never even touched by the wisest of the speakers The major premiss of all the arguments seemed to be Every Hindoo is a born administrator It is mere Western folly to think that representative government is an act which only comes by long political training in all the lower stages of a citizen life and the patient selection of the fittest' Much stress was laid on the need of a monster Commission of Inquiry into the whole existing administrative fabric The vials of patriotic wrath were opened on the Indian Council and a standing Committee of the House of Commons was thought a panacea for all evils But though there was much crude talk, much of that haste which only makes delay, and that ignorance which demands premature concesssion there was also much of most noble aspiration and a sense of patriotism and national unity which is a new departure in the races of the East



# APPENDIX C.

### The Indian Congress

(EDITORIAL OF THE *Times* ON THE ABOVE )

Bombay has been making a noteworthy effort to substantiate its claim to be the leading city of India At the end of last year it was the gethering place of a National Congress, brought together from all parts of the country for the discussion of public affairs It is at Bombay, therefore, that India has for the first time given proof of the existence of a national life and spirit In India, as elsewhere, there is abundant room for improvement, not altogether, perhaps, in the directions to which the Congress points, nor by the methods in which it chiefly trusts. The resolutions cover a wide ground Some of them we very heartily approve Others appear to us 'something more than questionable But from first to last there is one common idea running through them The Congress is not satisfied with the slender political power which the Natives of India possess It demands for them a larger share in the deleberative and executive functions of Government The memory of Lord Ripon's administration is still held in honour at Bombay, and the Congress there met has given utterance to aspirations which Lord Ripon has had no small share in encouraging On the representive character of the late Congress our information is not precise Our correspondent tells us who were there and who were not there Every important political society in India sent its delegates to Bombay, but of whom these political societies consist and for whom they can claim a right to speak we are not told One great sect ion of the native population was conspiciously not there No Mahomedan took any part in the proceedings The members present were drawn, for the most part from three orders— native lawyers, native school masters and native newspaper editors There were some notable exceptions, but the rule was as we have said It is what we might have expected before hand The work of the Congress has certainly been entrusted to the hands most likely to be found capable of perform ing it and most forward in offering themselves for it. A more mixed assembly would have been less competent perhaps, but its claim to be representatives all round might have been admitted with less doubt

The first resolution of the Congress was in favour of a Royal Commission of Inquiry into the working of the Indian Administration There is good ground for the request It is now nearly thirty years since the government of the country was transferred from the East India Company to the Crown and for so long a time no such inquiry has been held In former days it was of regular periodical recurrence as often as the time came for a renewal of the Company's charter The need for it has been now recognized The Commission for which the Congress asks was mentioned in the Queen's speech, and, since Mr Gladstone has signified his strong approval of it, we may expect that it will be issued what ever political part may be in power It is a matter of course that the people of India will be represented upon it and that all available evidence will be taken to guide the Commissioners to a judgment upon the whole case How far the results of the inquiry will correspond with the hopes of the Congress is a wholly different question The delegates have sketched in advance a scheme of reforms or changes which they wish to see carried into effect First and foremost, and as a necessary

preliminary to all other reforms the Indian Council is to be abolished, and its place to be taken by a Standing Committee of the House of Commons In India itself the Supreme Legislative Council and the several provincial Councils are to be expanded by the admission of a considerable number of elected members Thus reformed, they are to have a necessary voice on all questions of finance, and a right to interpellate the executive on all points of administration If protests are raised and overruled, the protesting members are to have a right of appeal to the *Standing Committee by which the present Indian* Council is to be replaced Changes are next proposed in the rules for the examinations of candidates for the Indian Civil Service The Congress asks, *inter alia*, that these examinations should be held in England and in India simultaneously and that the admissible age of competing candidates should be 23 at least As regards finance, the Congress holds that the increased and, as it believes, the needless demands for more military expenditure are most properly to be met by retrenchment in other branches. But if this is not done and if more money must be raised, the Congress looks in the first place to a re imposition of the customs duties, and secondly to extension of the licence tax This second demand has been granted The *Income Tax Bill* was passed after a short debate, in the course of which the various restricting amendments proposed to it were lost The final demand of the Congress that Great Britain should extend a guarantee to the Indian debt has not been granted in terms and is not likely to be But while the English rule exists in India, there is enough of a practical guarantee to give absolute safety to the bond-holders The *Congress is further* prepared to offer advice on the Burmese question Its objection to the annexation of Upper Burmah comes a little too late Its claim that all Burmah should in any case be separated from India and should be constituted a Crown colony includes matter on which it has an imperfect right to speak The separation of Burmah and the consequent loss of the Burmah surplus revenue *it may* very properly ask But what is to be done with the country afterwards it is for England rather than for India to determine The approaching visit of the Indian Viceroy to Mandalay will put him in a position to give advice on this matter

The first question which this series of resolutions will suggest is whether India is ripe for the transformation which they involve If this can be answered in the affirmative, the days of English rule are numbered. If India can govern itself, our stay in the country is no longer called for All we have to do is to *preside over the construction of the new system and then to leave it to work The* lawyers and schoolmasters and newspaper editors will step into the vacant place and will conduct affairs with no help from us Those who know India best will be the first to recognize the absurd impracticability of such a change But it is to nothing less than this that the resolutions of the Congress point If they were *carried out* the result *would soon be* that very little *would remain* to *England* except the liability which we should have assumed for the entire Indian debt Then, however would be the time at which the representative character of the late Congress would be subjected to a crucial test Our correspondent tells us that the delegates fairly represent the education and intellectual power of India That they can talk, and that they can write, we are *in no* doubt at *all* The whole business of their lives has been a training for such work as this. But that they can govern wisely, or that they can enforce submission to their rule, wise or unwise, we are not equally sure. That the entire Mahomedan

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population of India has steadily refused to have anything to do with them is a sufficiently ominous fact Even if the proposed changes were to stop short of the goal to which they obviously tend they would *certainly serve to weaken the vigour of the Executive and to make the* good government of the country a more difficult business than it has ever been The Viceroy s Council already includes some nominated native members To throw it open to elected members, and to give minorities a statutable right to be heard before a Parliamentary Committee, *would be an introduction of* Home Rule *for* India in about as troublesome a form as could be devised Do what we will the government of India cannot be made constitutional If it works well, neither England nor India can have any reason to be dissatisfied with it The educated classes may find fault with their exclusion from *full* political rights *Political privileges they can obtain in the degree in which they prove themselves deserving* of them But it was by force that India was won, and it is by force that India must be governed in whatever hands the government of the country may be vested If we were to withdraw, it would be in favour not of the most fl ent *tongue or of the most ready pen, but the strongest arm and the* sharpest *sword.* It would, perhaps, be well for the members of the late Congress to reconsider their position from this practical point of view



# APPENDIX D.

**The Hon'ble K T Telang's Letter to 'The Times' dated 9th March 1886 touching the remarks made in the foregoing correspondence about the Mahomedan community and Social Reform**

TO THE EDITOR OF "THE TIMES"

Sir,—The letter of your Bombay Correspondent, dated 31st December last, regarding the Indian National Congress together with your editorial article based upon it, has been read here with much interest The members of the Congress have not much reason to complain of the account of their work given by your correspondent and they must feel grateful to you for the amount of sympathy manifested in your remarks upon it At the same time it seems probable that some of the conclusions arrived at in your article would have been modified, if some further details of the proceedings of the Congress had been brought to your notice As one of the Secretaries of the Congress, therefore, and with the approval of the President I beg to send you some particulars regarding two important points made in your article

The first point is in reference to your remark that the Mahomedans of India were conspicuous by their absence at the Congress Although it must be admitted that the Mahomedan community was not adequately repersented at our meeting, your remark is not altogther an accurate one Two leading Mahomedan gentemen did attend the Congress viz Mr R M Sayani and Mr A M Dharamsi Both of these gentlemen are graduates of the University and attorneys of standing at the High Court of Bombay Mr Sayani held the office of Sheriff of Bombay last year, was a member of the Khoja Law Commission appointed by Government some years ago and has for many years past been a member of the Municipal Corporation and Town Council of Bombay Mr Dharamsi, also, is a member of the Municipal Corporation of Bombay Further, the Hon Mr Badroodin Tyabji, a member of the Legislative Council at Bombay, and Mr Cumroodin Tyabji would have attended the Congress, had they not been absent from Bombay at the time the Congress was sitting Mr Badroodin is Chairman of the Managing Committee and Mr Cumroodin one of the vice presidents of the Bombay Presidency Association, which, in concert with the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha convened the Congress As regards the other provinces, causes similar to the above indicated must doubtless have operated with greater force And it must be remembered that this Congress was the first of its kind, and naturally, therefore, there were some shortcomings But we feel confident that next year when the assemblage will be at Calcutta the Mahomedan community will be represented as it befits its numbers and importance The second point relates to the omission of social reform from the proceedings of the Congress As regards [illegible] it is to be observed that the main object of the Congress was a political one [illegible] when the programme of business was informally discussed by the members [illegible] desided that after the subjects for which they had specially assembled were [illegible] ed of questions of social reform should be considered if there was time [illegible] happened there was no time to do this, because several of our members were [illegible] ed to leave for their respective homes on the third day of our meeting [illegible]

population of India has steadily refused to have anything to do with them is a sufficiently ominous fact Even if the proposed changes were to stop short of the goal to which they obviously tend, they would *certainly serve to weaken the vigour of the Executive and to make* the good government of the country a more difficult business than it has ever been The Viceroy's Council already includes some nominated native members To throw it open to elected members, and to give minorities a statutable right to be heard before a Parliamentary Committee, would be an introduction of Home Rule for India in about as troublesome a form as could be devised Do what we will the government of India cannot be made constitutional If it works well, neither England nor India can have any reason to be dissatisfied with it The educated classes may find fault with their exclusion from full political rights *Political privileges they can obtain in the degree in which they prove themselves deserving* of them But it was by force that India was won, and it is by force that India must be governed, in whatever hands the government of the country may be vested If we were to withdraw, it would be in favour not of the most fluent *tongue or of the most ready pen, but the strongest arm and the sharpest sword.* It would, perhaps, be well for the members of the late Congress to reconsider their position from this practical point of view

# APPENDIX D.

**The Hon ble K T Telang s Letter to The Times dated 9th March 1886 touching the remarks made in the foregoirg correspondence about the Mahomedan community and Social Reform**

TO THE EDITOR OF "THE TIMES"

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day a very earnest social reformer Diwan Bahadur Raghunath Rao of Madras gave an eloquent address on social questions, and he was followed by another eminent reformer the Hon M G Ranade of this Presidency You will probably consider that the importance of social reform is even more powerfully recognised when it is eagerly discussed by persons avowedly assembled for another purpose than when it is taken up in ordinary course as part of a formal programme I hope you will give insertion to this in your journal

High Court Bombay
9th March

I am &c
K T TELANG

# APPENDIX E.

**Telegrams despatched by the Indian National Telegraph Union to London**
**(To the Daily News)**

## 1885.

**No. 1.** *On 15th April* —The Association* during the present political crisis has received from all parts of the country strong and universal assurances of sympathy with England The feeling of the Indian Princes and people was never more loyal All the principal Indian Princes including Cashmere, Holkar, Mysore, Scindia Gaikawad Nizam have voluntarily offered their cordial co operation People everywhere showing enthusiasm with British rule against Russian aggression Native volunteering advocated everywhere and by the whole of the Native Press Offers have been made to the Viceroy by 400 principal Natives of the Bengal Presidency consisting of Zemindars barristers, officials, graduates, to enlist In the Madras Presidency enlistment has already commenced A similar feeling is manifested in Bombay, Poona and elsewhere This unprecedented manifestation is everywhere regarded as a striking justification of the policy of the Royal Proclamation as carried out and brought home to the people during Lord Ripon's Administration This Association gave Lord Reay an address of welcome which while pointing out the necessity of various internal reforms unreservedly expressed confidence in and attachment to the British Government

**2** *On 7th May* —Great satisfaction felt at determination of Government to avoid war if possible Every confidence in the Gladstone Ministry on this point No danger of Native loyalty being impaired by peace with Russia War would retard internal reforms happily commenced by Lord Ripon which have evoked such marked good will throughout the country The desire to support Government by Volunteering becoming stronger and more general

**3.** *On 30th July* —Native community view with great alarm rumoured establishment British Cantonment Kandahar, because it will paralyse peace negotiations and suggest forward movement on part of Russia, because even though Amir may consent it will involve complications with Afghan people, because it will entail serious and useless extra expenditure Country already suffering from retrenchments necessitated by recent preparations for war Many useful and popular schemes checked for wants of funds

Great satisfaction at Lord Churchill's renewed declaration in favour of inquiry into Government of India Act 1858 Strong feeling in favour of reform or alterations of Indian Council Fresh nominations to council deprecated

**(To Mr John Slagg M P)**

**4** *On 5th June* —Great satisfaction here at your motion for inquiry into Government of India Act, 1858 Subject much discussed by Native Press Steps being taken to hold meetings and petition Parliament thereon Fawcett s opinion strongly upheld, namely, Parliamentry inquiry into Act extremely important work for new Parliament

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* This telegram was despatched by the Bombay Presidency Association on behalf of the I N T Union

5 *On 5th August* —On Indian Budget Debate please bring on motion for Parliamentary inquiry into Government of India Act Feeling against Indian Council unanimous

**To the Daily News**

6 *On 27th August* —Telegraphic summary Lord Randolph's Budget Speech widely discussed by Native Press Full text anxiously awaited now received Attack on Ripon's frontier and financial policy unanimously condemned by Native public opinion *Bombay Gazette* influential and impartial exponent of Anglo Indian opinion, elaborately exposes exaggerations and misstatements of speech which it calls thoroughly partisan Between frontier policies adopted by Beaconsfield and Gladstone Governments no hesitation here Thoroughly understood that former policy chimerical, dangerous, designed rather to gratify army and portion of official hierarchy than safeguard interests of India Situation not really changed by advance of Russia long foreseen on Merv Leading sentiment of Afghans fear of losing independence now threatened of Russian advance Thus their present friendly temper towards English alliance furnishes remarkable confirmation of wisdom of resolution to evacuate Kandahar and abandon forward policy Similarly, present disposition of Indian people so radically different from what it was under Lytton undeniable fruit of Ripon's farsighted and liberal domestic policy Such policy best preparation for securing safety of empire by developing resources, conciliating affection of all classes, and avoiding costly aggressive enterprises Additional permanent military expenditure of two millions viewed with great anxiety Increased military strength should be sought in preparations within Indian frontier, utilising support of Native volunteers, and help cordially offered by Native Princes

Promised inquiry into system of Indian Government and declared readiness to listen to enlightened Indian opinion regarded with satisfaction but all feel that promised boons but empty shadows if disastrous policy of Lytton Strachey regime adopted by present Government and forced on Indian people

7 *On 4th September* —Large enthusiastic meeting last Wednesday for Fawcett Memorial Lord Reay presided all classes joined Great stress laid on Fawcett's advocacy of economy in Indian finance Gratitude expressed for his disinterested and distinguished services to India Influential representative Committee appointed to collect funds and determine form of Memorial Sympathy expressed and support promised by Provincial centres Nawab of Junaghad subscribed £1 0 One speaker remarked amidst vociferous applause that if India and England united as Fawcett wished, they might defy 100 Russias

8. *On 11th September* —Government proposal to add 30,000 men to peace effective Indian army besides large expenses on frontier defences and Railways has created general alarm Necessity of this expenditure disputed, and generally felt that burden will be unendurable Thoroughly understood that domestic reform and developing country's resources must be laid aside Also, general fear that present Government in permanent power may under military influences be tempted or driven into wasteful perilous foreign policy from which Elections of 1880 delivered India Lord Randolph's recent speeches grieved and surprised people as not showing independence expected from one having personal experience of Indian opinion He now appears as mouthpiece of small official clique hostile to Ripon.

9. *On 11th September* – Active movement in India to bring Indian topics before Electors of United Kingdom Delegates already left

Dadabhai Naoroji nominated to Legislative Council Lord Reay's nomination of him and Madhev Govind Ranade highly approved everywhere.

10. *On 17th September* —British Indian Association, Indian Association of Calcutta, Mahajan Sabha of Madras, Poona Sarvajanik Sabha, Sind Sabha have joined this Association * in united movement to bring Indian topics before British Electors This Association held important meeting and adopted General Appeal to Electors urging fulfilment of Parliamentary and Royal pledges with Parliamentary inquiry how far already redeemed Confirmed appointment of Delegates to London from Calcutta Madras and Bombay Gratitude expressed to Bright and Hartington and good will for candidature of Slagg, Ghose, Digby, Phear and others Temple and others not recognised to represent Indian interests

11. *On 7th October* —Madras Mahajan Sabha held meeting, to bring Indian questions before British Electors adopted Rajah Sir Madhevrao's instructions to Indian Delegates to gratefully acknowledge benefits of British Rule, solicit greater attention to Indian affairs sympathy for Indian feelings and aspirations, plead for moderate taxation necessaries of life, and security of land tenure, explain material benefits from connection of India and England placing reliance on British wisdom, justice and generosity

12. *On 14th October* —Native Press intelligently discusses and condemns proposed increased Military expenditure No evidence showing increase required for necessary effective strength

13. *On 26th September* —Public warned against telegrams tending promote war with Burmah Alleged provocation disputed between Bombay Burmah Trading Company and Burmah Government about sale of timber Indian tax payers' interest not sufficient justify war Shareholders accepted risk to profit by monopoly

14. *On 5th November* —*Times's* Calcutta Correspondent misinformed in ascribing partisan motives to Indian Delegates' Mission Objects fully explained in this Association's proceedings and reply to Sir Jamshedji Jeejeebhoy's resignation Printed copies now in Delegates' hands for distribution Native Press condemns Sir Jamshedji's action

Sir Charles Aitchison's appointment of Native Judge, Punjaub Chief Court, given great satisfaction in Punjaub and generally approved

Public feeling against appointment of Resident at Kashmir Late Maharaja opposed it as affecting his position New Maharajah assiduous at administrative reforms

15. *On 20th November* —Indian public expresses hearty gratitude at sympathetic receptions Indian Delegates in England Large audiences assembled to hear them very gratifying as showing readiness of British people to hear India's appeal even during election turmoils

Burmah War viewed with disfavour by Indian opinion and annexation protested against as causing complications King Theebaw's misconduct insufficient ground for depriving Burmese people of independence

* Bombay Presidency Association

**(To the Manager Press Association)**

**16.** *On 31st December* —Indian National Congress embracing nearly hundred distinguished representatives from all parts of Empire, concluded after three days' continuous debate Mr W C Bonnerji, Standing Counsel, Calcutta, presiding Honourables S Subramania Iyer, Dadabhai Naoroji Kashinath Trimbuk Telang, M G Ranade, Messrs P M Mehta, Rao R Raghunath rao, Satyanand Agnihotri, A O Hume, S D White present Passed Resolution urging that promised inquiry into Indian affairs should be by Royal Commission on which Natives should be represented—evidence being taken in India and England, proposing abolition of the India Council introduction of representative element into Supreme and Local Legislative Councils including additional Councils for North West Provinces and Punjaub with general right of interpellation and power to discuss financial questions provision being made to refer to a Standing Committee for the House of Commons any formal protests of such Councils opening of all civil departments to all Saturday natives with simultaneous examinations in England and India raising of maximum age of Civil Service examination to 23 objecting to increased military expenditure demanding Imperial guarantee to Indian Debt and extension License tax to professions and officials and reimposition of Import Duties, if additional taxation absolutely indispensable deprecating annexation Upper Burmah and suggesting if annexation determined making whole Burmah Crown Colony entirely distinct from Government of India Congress closed with enthusiastic cheers for Queen Empress After congress Delegates and large Bombay gathering discussed questions Hindu Social Reform.

## 1886.

**17.** *On 14th January* —Great public meeting held here welcome Indian Delegates returned from England Delegates acknowledged gratefully interest and sympathy evinced by British public specially working men elegates work enthusiastically approved as wholly successful

**18** *On 22nd January* —People of India appeal to people of England to instruct representatives to support Hunter's intended motion condemning annexation of Upper Burmah to India and earnestly trust this question may be decided solely on principles of right and justice Annexation under pretext of opening new markets condemned as unworthy of England and deprecated as strengthening Military and despotic tendencies in Government

**19.** *On 28th January* —Influential crowded Meeting at Madras to welcome Delegate returned from England Rajas Nilambore Calicut Ramnad present and took part Telegrams of sympathy received from public meetings at all provincial centres Delegate enlarged on sympathy of British and expressed admiration of English home life Thanks voted to all Delegates Meeting separated with cheers for Queen

**20.** *On 4th February* —Bombay Association forwarded detailed Memorial to Indian Secretary against necessity two millions permanent addition al annual military charge For imperial defence England should bear equitable share Each Indian Finance Minister has vainly protested against unjust encroachments of War Office of Indian revenues Laing Balfour held fourteen millions army charge sufficient Now seventeen millions without in

creased number of efficiency. Salisbury, Northbrook, Argyll, Sandhurst Lytton, quoted Memorial recommends provide additional strength by reducing noneffective military charges, and Native Volunteers to keep internal order Should avoid taxation on population with average yearly income forty shillings

Chief Justice Garth proceeding on leave. Rumoured English junior supersedes Native Justice Mitter who acted, 1883 Much indignation, Calcutta, supposed reversal Ripon policy

Popular demonstration Krishnaghur Welcomed Manmohan Ghose returned Indian delegate Crowd gave cheers for Deptford Liberal Electors

**21.** *On 12th February* —Much satisfaction felt at Lord Ripon's joining Cabinet Indian opinion had hoped he would be Indian Secretary

General disapproval of haste passing Income Tax Bill

Financial Committee appointed does not command confidence Members official with one exception

**22.** *On 22nd February* —Much disappointment and regret at the proposal of Ministry to throw Burman War expenses on India Adverse opinion strong Whole Burman question exciting keen criticism and much feeling

**23.** *On 6th March* —Requisition to Sheriff, Bombay, largely and influentially signed by Europeans and Natives for Public Meeting to ask for Royal Commission on Indian affairs Lord Dufferin's declaration of Ministry preferring Parliamentary Committee over Royal Commission, not considered satisfactory Old precedents relied on not applicable as circumstances changed and Indian public opinion grown stronger Local Meetings being held throughout India ratifying resolution of Indian National Congress regarding Royal Commission

**(To the Right Hon ble W E Gladstone Prime Minister)**

**24.** *On 23rd February* —United Associations Bengal, Madras Bombay, earnestly pray inquiry into Indian affairs should be by Royal Commission containing English statesmen and competent Indians No Anglo Indian official as already telegraphed by Bengal Chamber of Commerce Commission would take evidence here This essential Parliamentary Committee of 1871 on Indian Finance rendered fruitless by dissolution

**25.** *On 26th March* —General disappointment expressed at Parliamentary Committee instead of Royal Commission Little hope Indian witnesses of age experience position visiting England Peers nomination well received Commons nomination inspire no confidence as Anglo Indian official element strong Independent Indian interest weak

**(To the Manager Press Association)**

**26.** *On 9th April* —Monster meeting of agriculturists in Jessore district of Bengal Confirmed resolutions of National Congress Other public affairs, like administration of criminal law and taxation, discussed Right of representation in government desired Honourable Tyabji, Mahomedan Member of Council publicly declared Indian Mahomedans cordially sympathising with other sections of nations in Congress resolutions and political movements generally

**27.** *On 21st April* —Anglo Indian and Native Press condemns Grant Duff's Government for mode of disposing of charges brought by Crole, Collector of Madura against Thomas, Senior Member of Council On ex parte report

twenty Native officers recently dismissed or degraded for recommending remission Land Revenue on account of disastrous flood No opportunity for explanation afforded Report kept confidential Public feeling much excited Numerous meetings to protest being held

**28.** *On 25th June* —Deep grief felt at the death of two great Maratha Princes Holkar and Sindhia They were two of the most loyal friends of British Power among Indian Princes Holkar's son adult and was invested with power during father's lifetime Sindhia's son minor. Arrangement for Government of the States believed satisfactory.

Ensuing elections watched with keen interest especially candidature of Hon'ble Dadabhai Naoroji and Lalmohan Ghose Desire keenly felt and universally expressed for this success Much gratitude felt to Holborn and Deptford for supporting Indian candidates. Public meetings to express confidence will soon be held.

Much anxiety felt about Thibet mission Misgivings entertained about fresh developments of activity on frontier

No regret felt at collapse of Parliamentary Committee on India Preference for Royal Commission confirmed Proposed Indian Civil Service Committee not regarded with satisfaction

Correspondence touching Sullivan—Crole case of Madras partially published Much adverse comment on Grant Duff and his government Independent investigation insisted upon as indispensable

**29.** *On 30th June* —Crowded Public Meeting held here 29th All communities represented Dinshaw Petit presided opened proceedings eulogising worth Lal Mohun Ghose and invaluable patriotic public services of Dadabhai Naoroji Resolution expressing confidence in both and gratitude to electors Holborn and Deptford passed amid enthusiastic cheers Sympathising telegrams received from public meetings held at all principal stations in Presidency

**30.** *On 30th July* —A very crowded influential Meeting held at Calcutta last week protesting against Simla Exodus All classes of people European and Native fairly represented Eloquent speeches made showing financial and political mischief consequent on migration of Government Practice shown to be recent Meeting received telegrams of sympathy from all quarters

**31.** *On 13th August* —Regret widely expressed at Ilbert's approaching departure from country His sympathy with Indian people and support of beneficent measures of Lord Ripon's Viceroyalty and absence of morbid activity of legislative Department under him generally appreciated

Aitchison's approaching departure from Punjab Government also viewed with regret in Punjab Meetings held asking for extension of his term of office

Abandonment of intended Thibet mission viewed with satisfaction as avoiding frontier complications

Continued disturbances in Burmah regarded as auguring graver difficulties Fears entertained that overgrown Military expenditure will grow still further